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FILE No. NE-Q 1/1

(1 - 56).

(Part A.)

TITLE: IRAQ: Political and administrative Affairs (Internal)

Internal Situation

Reports

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①

SAVING TELEGRAM

By Bag

BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Telno 9 Saving 11 October, 1968

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RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES
13 OCT 1968
NEQ 1/1
N
P. J. M.
2/10

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 9 Saving of
11 October,
Repeated for information Saving to Kuwait and Tehran.

Iraq: Internal Situation

EQ/83

As reported in my telegrams Nos. 303 [of 7 October] and 306 [of 8 October] President Bakr, of whom I called on 6 October with Mr. G. Arthur, Assistant Secretary of State designate, spoke of relations between the Iraqi Government and the Iraq Petroleum Company and also about the Palestine problem. General Takriti was present at the interview.

2. President Bakr spoke frankly about the difficult situation in the countrysides in Iraq and of the influx of peasants into Baghdad and the other cities. Progress had undoubtedly been made in the urban areas, but outside the cities and towns nothing had changed. It was therefore natural that the country folk should be moving into the urban areas in search of employment and a better way of life. This state of affairs was however unsatisfactory and had to stop and the Government had given the necessary orders for population movements to be controlled. He appeared to be well aware, however, that restrictive measures alone were not enough and spoke with apparent sincerity of the Government's responsibility to the Party and to the people.

3. I reminded the President that since the days of Mr. Ernest Bevin, H.M.G. had been greatly interested in and had contributed to economic and social development in the Middle East. In this connection, please see paragraph 9 of my despatch (1/3) of 15 August.

— EQ 1/18 (30)

4. President Bakr is not an impressive figure. He is quiet in speech and manner but gives the impression of being a sincere man. He was friendly in a restrained way.

Mr. Evans

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

(2)

1/3

NEQ/1/1

18 OCT 1968

12 October 1968
Jm 17/10 Reg.

1 RD ~~1~~ 2nd

JRD ~~1~~ 2nd

NE Div - Action per 3

Dear Donald,

Iraq Internal

Please refer to Baghdad telegrams nos. 288 and 292 (not to Washington) about the flurry of activity here on 27 September. You will also have seen a brief press report in The Times of 7 October about the supposed arrest of some 80 army officers.

2. It is still not clear precisely what took place on 27 September. Although it may be that the government engineered the plot in order to expose their opponents, we are inclined to believe that there was a genuine, if half-baked plan or even attempt by armed men to seize the Presidential Palace; the government had wind of the move however and foiled it after a scuffle in which one man is said to have been killed. This was followed by the arrest or attempted arrest of people such as Mohammad Ammar al Rawi, who were thought, almost certainly with some justification, to be hostile to the Baathists and to be perhaps involved with or sympathetic to the plot to overthrow them. The net appears to have been cast wider in recent days, and some business and professional men who probably had nothing to do with the unsuccessful coup have been arrested. We cannot see any pattern in these arrests and no doubt many are now detained for no better reason than that their names appeared in the address books or diaries of people previously arrested and under investigation. Personal grudges and spiteful denunciations are probably responsible for other arrests.

3. In consequence there is considerable unease and apprehension among the Baghdad middle-class. The fears which were aroused by the right-wing Baath's seizure of power on 30 July have been intensified by the death under torture of Abdul Wahad Zeki, a prominent businessman. It is now common knowledge that Zeki, who was one of the directors of the Iraqi Coca Cola Company, died after being tortured to try to make him confess to having bribed Tahir Yahya, the former Prime Minister who has been imprisoned since 17 July and against whom the Baathists are apparently trying to obtain evidence of corruption. We have also heard from a reliable source that three others, one of whom was a Jew, were killed at about the same time in similar circumstances. The business community are understandably frightened because corruption has been so widespread in government and commerce that everyone is vulnerable to charges of having used bribery in their dealings with government departments.

*my
name
only
to
keep
in
touch
with
you*

D. J. Makinson, Esq.,
Eastern Department,
Foreign Office.

1/4.

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4. We have also heard of incidents in which people in cars have been machine-gunned from a passing vehicle and it is said that three Communists were shot and killed by a Baathist in Baghdad a week ago. None of this is of course reported in the press or on the radio and we have no direct evidence that these stories are well-founded. The fact is however that many Iraqis believe them and are afraid. It is possible indeed that the Baath are deliberately using terror as a means of deterring active opposition.

Yours ever,

P.M.K.

(P. McKearney)

c.c. Chanceries:

Washington
Cairo
Beirut
Amman
Ankara
Tehran
Kuwait

(3)

TOP CURR

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CYpher/CAT A
 ROUTINE BAGHDAD
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 360

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
 28 OCTOBER 1968

RECORDED IN
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P. Jan 30/68

ADDRESSED TO F C O TELEGRAM NO.360 OF 28 OCTOBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION SAVING TO TEHRAN ANKARA BEIRUT AMMAN CAIRO AND KUWAIT.

IRAQ INTERNAL SITUATION.

IT IS RELIABLE REPORTED THAT SOME 20 OR 30 PERSONS WERE ARRESTED DURING THE NIGHT INCLUDING GENERAL ABDUL ABDUL AZZIZ UKELI, BRIGADIER ARIF ABDUL RAZZAQ AND POSSIBLE COLONEL SUBHI ABDUL HAMID. THERE HAS BEEN SOME STRENGTHENING OF THE GUARD AT THE RADIO STATION, BUT OTHERWISE ALL SEEKS QUIET.

FCO PASS SAVING TO TEHRAN ANKARA BEIRUT AMMAN CAIRO AND KUWAIT.

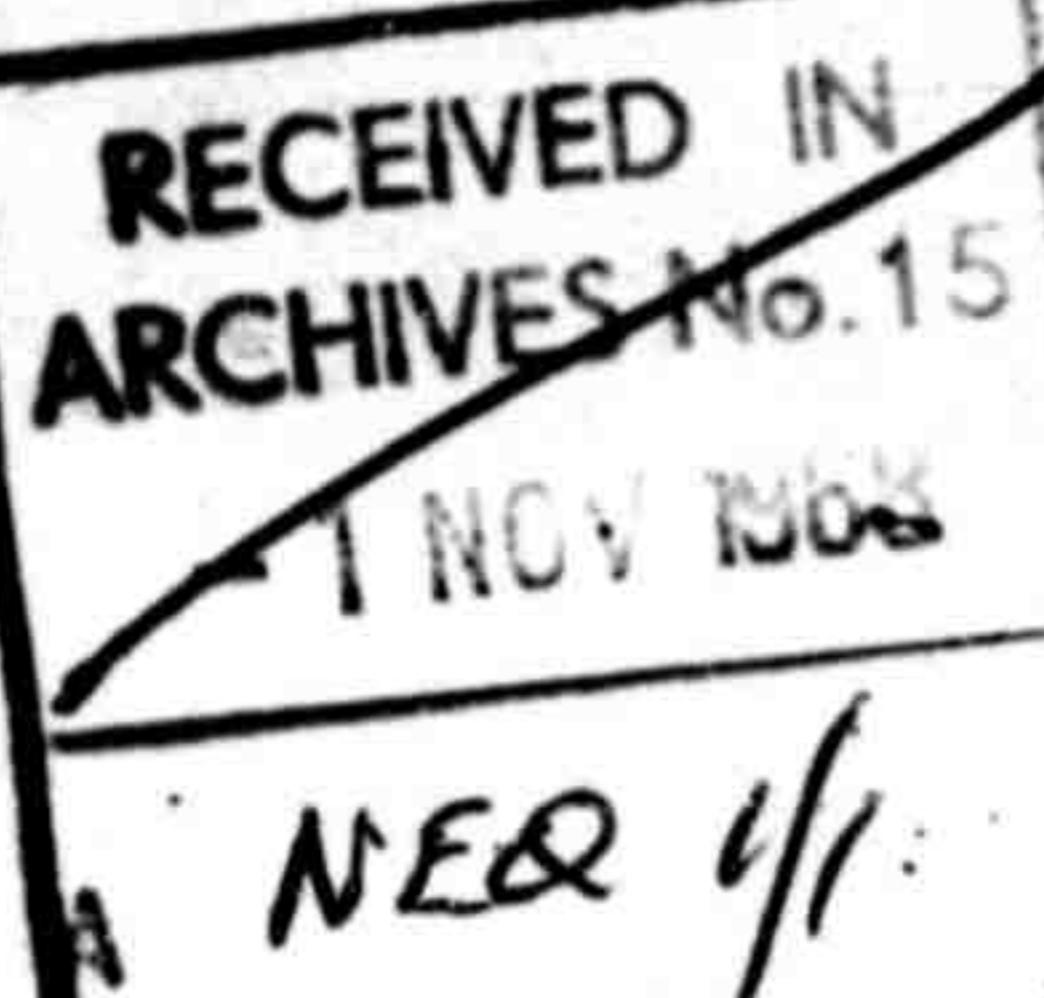
MR. EVANS.

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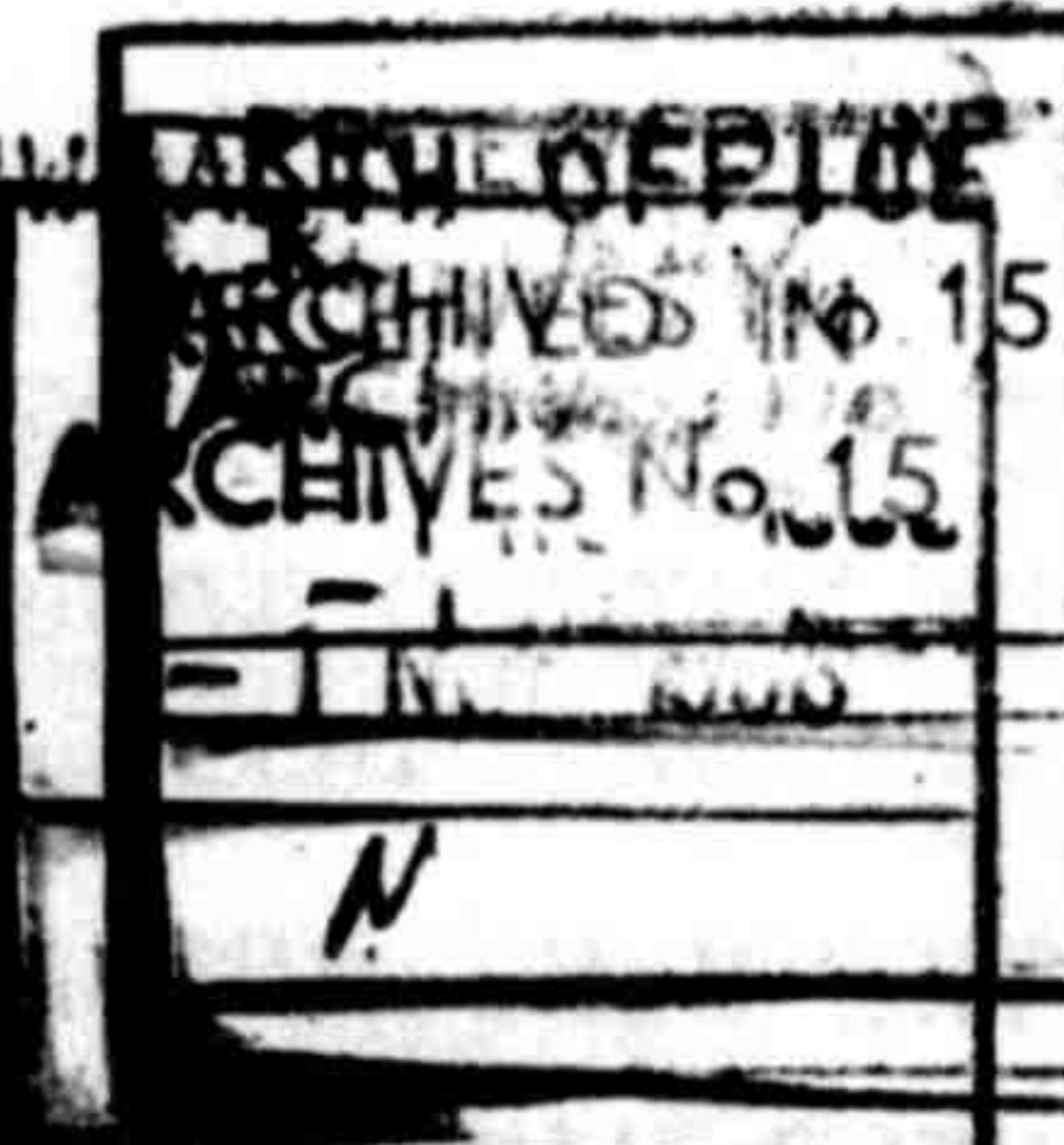


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CYpher/CAT A
ROUTINE BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NUMBER 372

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TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
30 OCTOBER 1968



CONFIDENTIAL.

ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE TELEGRAM NUMBER 372
OF 30 OCTOBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION SAVING TO WASHINGTON, PARIS,
THE HAGUE AND BEIRUT.

MY TELEGRAM NUMBER 9 SAVING: IRAQ INTERNAL SITUATION. pa. Dm 6/11

GENERAL TAKRITI ON WHOM, AS I HAVE ALREADY REPORTED, I
CALLED ON 27 OCTOBER, SPOKE ABOUT THE POLITICAL SITUATION
IN IRAQ. HE TOOK THE LINE THAT UNLESS THE SITUATION COULD BE
STABILISED THE COUNTRY COULD FALL INTO THE HANDS OF EITHER THE
COMMUNISTS OR NASERISTS. H M G SHOULD BE IN NO DOUBT ABOUT
THIS AND IT WAS IN THEIR INTERESTS TO HELP THE PRESENT GOVERN-
MENT WHO WERE TRYING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

2. BRITAIN WAS NOT POPULAR IN IRAQ. NOR HAD FRANCE BEEN
POPULAR. BUT BY SIMPLY WITHHOLDING ARMS FROM ISRAEL AFTER LAST
YEAR'S MIDDLE EAST WAR GENERAL DE GAULLE HAD CHANGED THE
SITUATION. I SUGGESTED THAT OUR POSITION WAS LESS SIMPLE THAN
THAT OF FRANCE AND THAT OURS WAS A SORT OF LOVE/HATE
RELATIONSHIP. GENERAL TAKRITI AGREED AND ADDED THAT
IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS PALESTINE,
H M G'S ATTITUDE WAS NOW GENERALLY SATISFACTORY FROM THE

/ ARAB

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- 2 -

ARAB POINT OF VIEW. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT NO IRAQI MILITARY CADET WISHED TO GO TO THE U.S.S.R. FOR MILITARY TRAINING, FEW TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BUT ALL COULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO GO TO THE U.K. UNFORTUNATELY H.M.G. HAD NOT SO FAR DONE ANYTHING TO HELP HIM OR THE REGIME.

3. I HAVE LITTLE DOUBT THAT HE WAS THINKING PARTICULARLY OF GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE I.P.C.

4. I HAVE REPORTED SEPARATELY ON HIS REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE OVER THE PURCHASE OF ARMOURED CARS AND ALSO ON HIS HELPFUL ATTITUDE IN THE CASE OF A DETAINED BRITISH SUBJECT - MY TELEGRAMS 361 AND 357.

NEA 10/2 *consular*
FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON PARIS THE HAGUE AND BEIRUT.

MR EVANS.

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BRITISH EMBASSY,

KUWAIT.

(5)

10 October, 1968

Mr. Reddick 1/1
Mr. Secretary
Mr. Stewart
Mr. Evans
Mr. M. J. G. 1/1
Dm 30/10

17/10

3/3
Dear Sirs, (Signature)
Trefor Evans will have reported anything new (I don't think there was much) that came up during my recent visit to Baghdad.

2. In the two days that I have been back here I have called on several leading Kuwaitis, including the Amir, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence and Interior. They were all intrigued, of course, by the fact that I had visited Iraq and had been received by the President and the Minister of Defence, and they all wanted estimates of the nature and stability of the present Iraqi regime, about which most of them seem unable to make up their minds.

3. I think one story only is worth reporting. Just as Trefor Evans and I were leaving the President, I reminded the latter that I was still Ambassador in Kuwait, and added that the Amir would doubtless ask me what the President had to say. Was there anything that I could say to the Amir in reply? After a little reflection, the President said "Tell him that the Ba'ath party is ruling Iraq". The Amir did of course ask me whether Kuwait had been discussed and whether the President had said anything, so I repeated his exact words. We then speculated what al Bakr might mean; and I said that my impression was that he was trying to say that the present leaders of Iraq were not just another set of Army officers, but representatives of a strong and well known political party.

4. Sheikh Sa'ad, however, who is determined to be optimistic about the present regime in Iraq, reminded me that it was the Ba'ath government which recognised Kuwait (against a £30 million bribe) in 1963 after the fall of Abdul Kerim Qasim. He thought that al Bakr might really be trying to say that Kuwait's friends were again in power and that they would be prepared (perhaps in return for a second douceur) to go further this time and perhaps even settle the border between Kuwait and Iraq. I shall believe this when I see it; but I should add that one or two other people whom I have seen since I came back are disposed to give the present Iraqi regime the credit for better intentions than any Iraq government since 1958. Most of them add, however, that they cannot see it lasting very long.

5. I am sending copies of this letter to Trefor Evans and Stewart Crawford.

Yours ever,

G. G. Arthur

(G. G. Arthur)

D. J. McCarthy, Esq.,
Arabian Department,
Foreign Office.

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Cutting dated 19

(6)

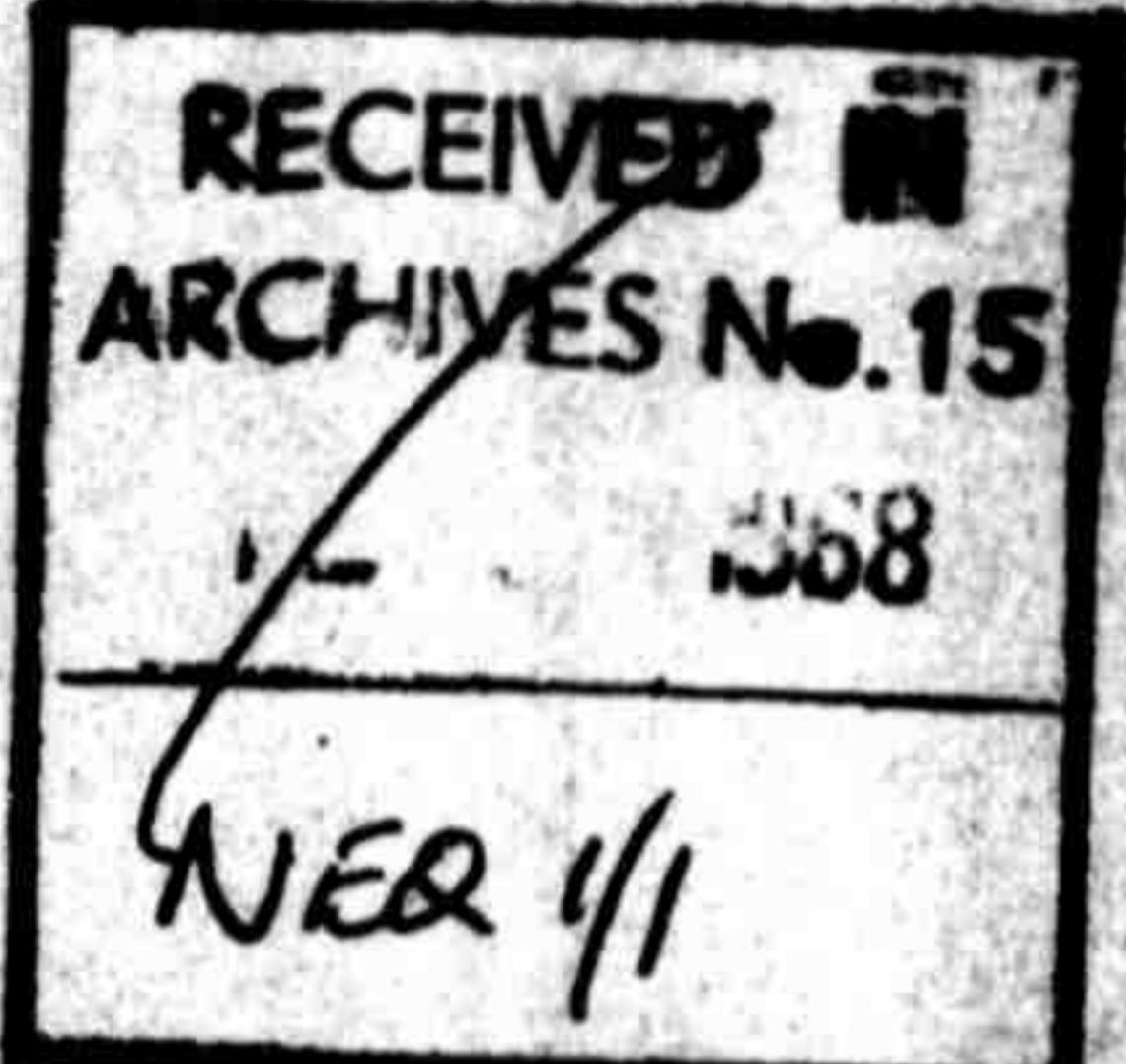
**BANKERS HELD
IN IRAQ** ¹⁰

Daily Telegraph Staff Correspondent

Sixty-five Iraqi Army officers, all Generals and Colonels, and over 250 bankers and businessmen have been arrested in Baghdad during the past month.

The situation was described yesterday as "a reign of terror" by a visitor back from Iraq, who added that it was worse than during the previous period of Baathist (Arab Socialist) rule when the party overthrew Gen. Kassem in 1963.

R.E. 12/11
by Evans.



Mr. 11
There has been two enquiries from business firms as a result of this. I have replied that I did not think last month was substantially different from other months in Iraq's past.

Mr. 12/11

EN CLAIR

BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO 414 13 NOVEMBER, 1968

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13 NOV 1968
NRQ 1/A

ADDSD TO FCO TELNO 414 OF 13 NOV R F I SAVING TO AMMAN BAHRAIN RESIDENCY BEIRUT CAIRO JEDDA KUWAIT UKMIS NEW YORK TEHRAN TEL AVIV AND WASHINGTON.

THE PRESS OF 12 NOVEMBER ANNOUNCED BRIEFLY THE DEATH AND FUNERAL THE SAME DAY OF DR NASSER HANI , MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS 17-30 JULY 1968. THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS LATER ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD BEEN ASSASSINATED ON THE EVENING OF 10 NOVEMBER.

2.. IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE HERE THAT ARMED MEN TOOK HIM FROM HIS HOUSE LATE ON 10 NOVEMBER AND THAT HIS BODY WAS DISCOVERED THE FOLLOWING DAY .

FCO PASS SAVING TO AMMAN BAHRAIN RESIDENCY BEIRUT CAIRO JEDDA KUWAIT UKMIS NEW YORK TEHRAN TEL AVIV AND WASHINGTON.

MR. EVANS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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THE GUARDIAN

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14 NOV 1968

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W. Makinson

p.a.
Jan 13
11

Ba'athists resume their old habits

From DAVID HIRST: Beirut, November 12

Iraq's ruling Ba'athists, whose nine-month spell of power in 1963 was the bloodiest in Iraq's modern history, seem to be slipping into their bad old habits.

The funeral took place in Bagdad today of Nasir Al-Hani. He was a cultured man, a former ambassador to the Lebanon, and at the time of his death he held the post of adviser to President Al Bakr.

According to a laconic announcement in the "Bagdad Observer" this morning, "Nasir Al-Hani passed away in a tragic incident yesterday." A fuller version of what happened, according to reliable information from Bagdad today, is that Hani was arrested over the weekend by the so-called Jihaz Al-Humain, the Ba'ath Party's own autonomous security apparatus, and his body was later found in a ditch in the outskirts of the city. This is only the latest of a number of atrocity reports to come out of Bagdad in recent weeks.

A warning

The reason for the murder is still a matter of speculation but it is being suggested that it may

have been an attempt to terrorise potential opposition to the regime, especially since the return of Dr Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz, the former Prime Minister, who made a brave attempt to give Iraq the humane and common-sense Government it so desperately needs.

More of Iraq's powerful officer-politicians have recently found their way into prison and apparently the regime has even gone so far as to tell ex-President Arif that his presence in Istanbul is unwelcome and has been advised to move farther away.

Bagdad is the scene of constant troop movements. The presidential palace is bristling with tanks and artillery and Bagdadis are only half joking when they say that it is dangerous to drive past it too slowly for fear of being shot at by nervous guards.

The Ba'athists are now surrounded by enemies on all sides and even their hopes for rapprochement with the pro-Moscow Communists is running into difficulties. The Communists are now serving on advisory committees, but their clandestine party newspaper continues to denounce the regime for the harsh military dictatorship which it undoubtedly is.

NE

THE TIMES

Cutting dated 13 NOV 1968 19

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9

DR NASSER AL-HANI

Dr. Nasser al-Hani, a former Iraqi Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Lebanon, was murdered in Baghdad on Monday night, Baghdad radio announced. Hani was 48.

Hani served as Foreign Minister in the Iraqi Cabinet formed by Colonel Abdel Razzak al Nayef in July this year following a coup by the army's strongman, General Ahmed Hassan al Bakr. Two weeks later, on July



31, President Bakr dismissed the Nayef Cabinet and made himself Prime Minister. Hani was left out of President Bakr's new 26-member Cabinet. A few days later, on August 12, he was made an Ambassador at the Iraqi Foreign Office.

The murder of Nasser al-Hani robs Iraq of a university lecturer, author, diplomat and Foreign Minister, who ably represented the generation that came to power after the 1958 revolution.

Al-Hani was born in 1920 in Ana. This small town on the west bank of the Euphrates, on the fringe of Syria as much as of Iraq, has produced more than its fair share of prominent men in the last decade. The Anawis are Sunni Arabs, which places them firmly in one of the three main groups which compose Iraq. Al-Hani was predisposed as a literary man to be interested in the great period of Syro-Iraqi Islam, the Abbasid

Empire, as a politician to favour Arab unity. After taking his B.A. in Baghdad, his M.A. in Cairo and his doctorate at London University, he established himself as an Arab author with his criticism in literature, *Criticism and its Influence on the Early Abbasid Poets*, and later a book explaining to Arabs the European literary terms.

After teaching at Baghdad University, where he held the post of assistant professor, he turned, like so many academics in Africa and Asia, to diplomacy. He was cultural attaché in Washington, Ambassador in Lebanon and then, in the crucial period following the break up of the United Arab Republic, in Damascus. He was Ambassador in Washington in 1964, at a period when Arab relations with the United States were "occluded. His wife was Irish; they had two children.

Re Thakur

p-a

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Killing of diplomat in Iraq

From Our Correspondent

Beirut, Nov. 12

Dr. Nasser al-Hani, the former Iraq Foreign Minister who was at one time ambassador to Lebanon, was assassinated in Baghdad last night, Baghdad radio reported.

Dr. Hani, who was 48, had served in diplomatic posts in both London and Washington, and became Foreign Minister immediately after the military coup which overthrew former President Abdul Rahman Arif in July this year. He served as Foreign Minister for only 14 days until the Cabinet of Lieutenant-Colonel Abdul Razzak al-Naif was dismissed and another coup staged by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr on July 31. Until his death he held the rank of ambassador at the Foreign Ministry.

The funeral took place in Baghdad today.

The Lebanese Cabinet of Dr. Abdullah al-Yafi submitted its resignation today, but President Helou has so far rejected it. The resignation of the four-man Cabinet, which was formed only three weeks ago, came in the wake of violent student demonstrations in support of Palestinian commandos against Israel.

Dr. Yafi told President Helou in his letter of resignation that he was "unable to face the current situation" with his present Cabinet, according to Cabinet sources.

Obituary of Dr. Hani, page 12.

Mr. Nakinson
From 13/11
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1. PRIORITY BAGHDAD

TELEGRAM NUMBER 416

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
14 NOVEMBER 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDS TO FCO TEL NO 416 OF 14 NOV REPTD FOR INFMN SVG TO
AMMAN BEIRUT BAHRAIN RESIDENCY CAIRO JEDDA KUWAIT UKMIS
NEW YORK TEHRAN TEL AVIV AND WASHINGTON.

7
MY TELEGRAM NO 414: MURDER OF DR NASIR AL HANI.

IT IS GENERALLY BELIEVED THAT THE MURDER WAS CARRIED
OUT BY THE STRONG-ARM MEN OF THE BA'ATH PARTY, WHETHER
BY SUPPORTERS OF THE REGIME OR BY THE LEFT-WING BA'ATH IS
NOT CERTAIN. THE REASONS FOR THE CRIME AND ITS TIMING ARE OBSCURE.

2. IT IS RELIABLY REPORTED THAT HANI WAS OUTSPOKEN, TO
THE POINT OF INDISCRETION IN THE PREVAILING POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE
HERE, ABOUT HIS NOT BEING A MEMBER OF THE BA'ATH PARTY.
HE OFTEN SAID THAT WHILE HE HAD BEEN PREPARED TO WORK FOR NAYIF,
IT WAS ABSURD THAT HE SHOULD BE WORKING FOR THE BA'ATH AND
THAT OFFICIALLY HE SHOULD BE POLITICAL ADVISER TO PRESIDENT
BAKR - HE NEVER ACTUALLY TOOK UP THE APPOINTMENT. IN THE
CIRCUMSTANCES HE WOULD HAVE TO RESIGN. IT IS ALSO REPORTED
THAT HE DID IN FACT RESIGN AND THAT THE NEWS WAS PUBLISHED IN
THE AHRAM OF CAIRO TWO DAYS BEFORE THE MURDER.

3. BEFORE HE WAS APPOINTED MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AFTER
THE JULY 17 COUP, HE WAS OF COURSE AMBASSADOR IN BEIRUT
WHERE IT WAS ALLEGED THE PLANNING OF THE COUP TOOK PLACE AND
ALSO THAT HE HAD CONTACTS WITH THE AMERICANS.

14. THE

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Mo ha 15/11

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-2-

4. THE ASSASSINATION HAS CREATED THE WORST POSSIBLE IMPRESSION BOTH AMONG DIPLOMATIC OBSERVERS AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQIS. IT HAS INEVITABLY ADDED TO THE MOOD OF UNCERTAINTY.

FCO PASS SVG TO AMMAN BEIRUT BAHRAIN RES CAIRO JEDDA KUWAIT
UKMIS NEW YORK TEHRAN TEL AVIV AND WASHINGTON.

MR. EVANS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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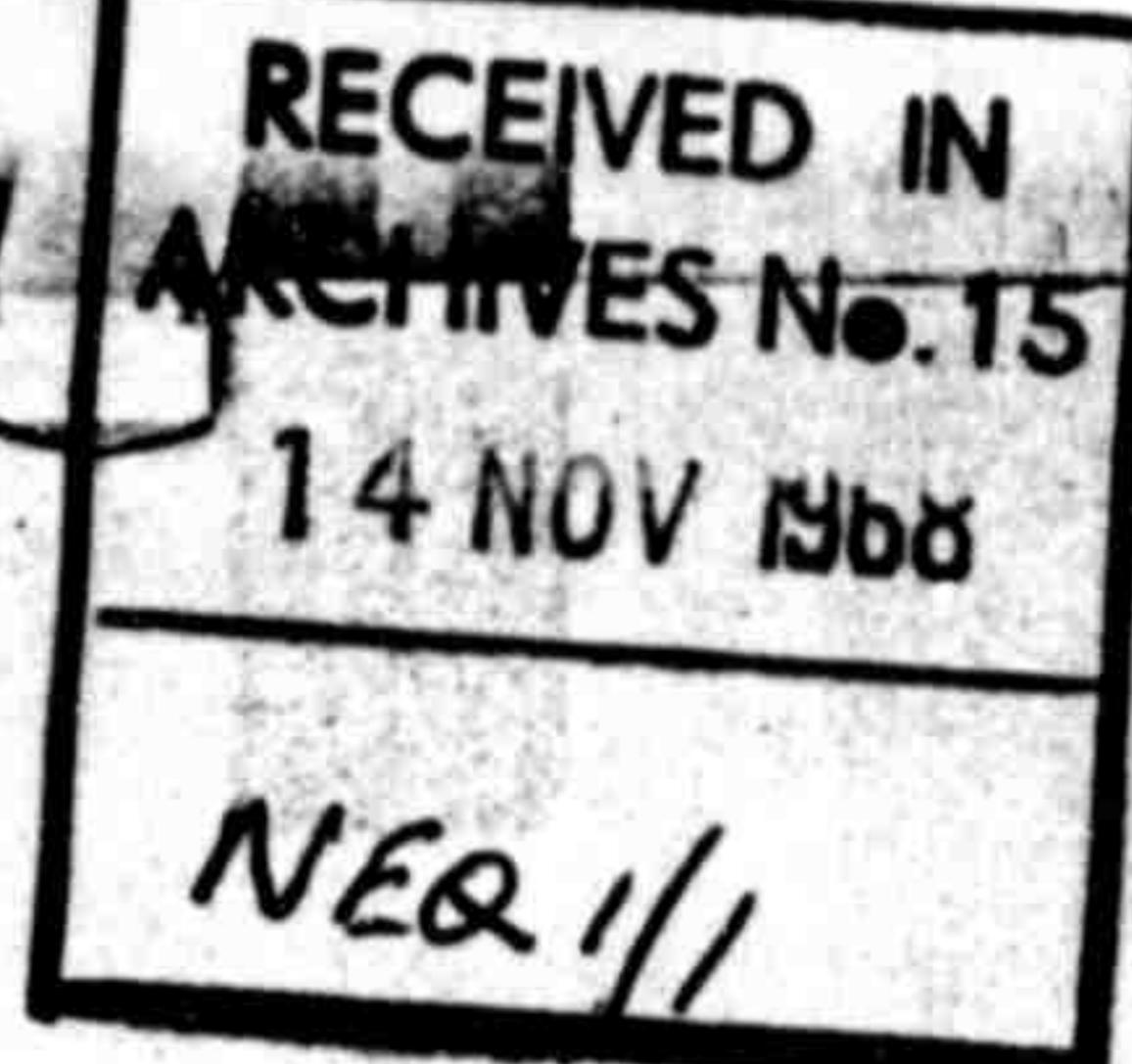
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BAKRY - HE NEVER ACTUALLY TOOK UP THE APPOINTMENT. IN THE
CIRCUMSTANCES HE WOULD HAVE TO RESIGN. IT IS ALSO REPORTED
THAT HE DID IN FACT RESIGN AND WAS PURSUED IN
THE AIRPORT OF CAIRO TWO DAYS BEFORE THE MURDER.

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**REPUBLIC OF IRAQ****LABOR ELECTIONS IN IRAQ ALLEGEDLY RIGGED**Labor
Elections

Labor elections which have taken place in Iraq recently were rigged in favor of Baath Party candidates and their supporters, according to the Beirut weekly **AL HORRIYA**, organ of the Arab Nationalist Movement, which now has Marxist tendencies.

The weekly said in a special dispatch from Baghdad yesterday that the Iraqi authorities had exercised pressure and influence in the elections against the "Struggle of the Workers" list of candidates. It added that this was another evidence of the present Iraqi regime's "repressive and terrorizing activities" against the other progressive elements and organizations in the country. [AL HORRIYA has been campaigning against the present Baathist regime in Iraq for some time. In last week's issue, the weekly categorically denied reports that the regime was undertaking serious steps toward establishing a national front of progressive elements in Iraq.]

Rival Lists. According to the weekly, there were two main rival lists competing in the elections. These were the "Socialist Progressive List" of the ruling Baath Party, and the "Struggle of the Workers" List. The latter was formed by merger of two lists, one comprising candidates of the Central Communist Leadership of Aziz Al Haj, and the other comprising candidates of the Arab Socialist Movement which is a group of Arab Nationalists and Nasserite elements.

The weekly went on to say that the Arab Socialist Movement had earlier expelled from its membership Hashem Ali Mohsin, who used to be President of the General Federation of Workers in Iraq until the last elections.

Interference. The weekly alleged that the ruling authorities had noticed the failure which their candidates were facing as a result of competition by the rival candidates and therefore, decided to interfere directly in the elections and resorted to various methods to rig the elections.

"Thus," said the weekly, "the authorities' promises for democratic elections were not fulfilled." It added that the candidates on the "Struggle of the Workers" List revealed some of the methods and instances which proved the authorities' interference and rigging of the elections.

In one instance, according to the weekly, a supporter of the Workers' Struggle List was threatened by the American expert at the Sugar Project in Amara because he tried to paste the policy statement of his candidates instead of the rival list and its policy statement. There were other reports of government officials, including ministers, who toured election booths with the aim of influencing the elections and exerting pressure on the voters many of whom had allegedly been threatened with dismissal from their jobs.

NATIONAL FRONT. AL HORRIYA also carried the statement which was released by the Arab Socialist Movement in reply to the Baath Party's national charter plan for the creation of a national progressive front. The weekly earlier criticized the Baathist plan and in yesterday's statement, it revealed its counter proposals which ran on the basis of the following:

1-The objective requirements for the creation of a national progressive front in Iraq; 2-The reasons which prevented the creation of such a front in the past; 3-The general and broad-lines of the policy of the proposed national progressive front. The statement bitterly criticized the small bourgeois ruling class and insisted that a coalition front should consist of all the progressive, nationalist and revolutionary elements in the country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(12)

Near Eastern Department,
FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE,
S.W.1.

(NEQ)

15 November, 1968

The Internal Situation in Iraq

Many thanks for your letter 1/3 of 9 November about Ba'ath resurgence.

2. It has helped us considerably to put into perspective the stories and newspaper articles (you no doubt saw the pieces in the Telegraph of 9 November and the Guardian of 14 November, which I enclose).
3. The murder of Nasir Al-Hani puts a different complexion on things: I think I am right in saying earlier deaths have been confined to lesser fry and have been executed more discreetly.
4. I look forward to another such round up when you feel it is warranted.

(D. J. Makinson)

A. E. Saunders, Esq.,
British Embassy,
BAGHDAD.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

Registry
No. *NEP:*

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

Top Secret.
Secret
Confidential.
Restricted.
Unclassified.

PRIVACY MARKING

AE
In Confidence

DRAFT

letter

To:-

A.E. Saunders
Baghdad

Type 1 + 3

From

D. M. Atkinson
Telephone No. & Ext.

Department

N.E.D.

The internal situation in Iraq
many thanks for your
letter ~~#~~ 1/3 of ~~at~~ ^{9th November} ~~September~~
about Ba'ath resurgence.

It has helped me
considerably to put into
perspective the stories and
articles ~~stories~~ (you
newspaper ~~articles~~ (you
no doubt saw the pieces
in the Telegraph of 9 November
& the Guardian of 14 Nov,
which I enclose.).

The murder of Nasser
al Hani ~~—~~ puts a
different complexion on things:
(I think earlier deaths
in saying earlier deaths
have been confined to lesser
by & have been executed
more ~~badly~~ discreetly.

I look forward to
another such round up when
you feel it is warranted.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1/3



Iraqi Miscellany

21/11/68
13
BRITISH EMBASSY,

BAGHDAD.

1. Copy to oil dep.
2. In Daily M.
3. AMMAN Evans R.E. 1/2
4. in mobile.

Dear Donald,

16 November 1968

You may be interested in the following.

Internal

2. There is no evidence of any marked lessening of the tension reported in my letter No. 1/3 of 9 November. The murder of Dr. Nasir al Hani, which was reported separately by telegram, speaks for itself. I have also heard from at least four sources at different levels in the communities here that about six communists were murdered in one of the poorer quarters of Baghdad on 7 November on the anniversary of the Russian revolution. The story is that the people concerned were marched to the main square in the Siba'a district and publicly machine gunned. It is assumed that the murderers were Ba'thi but, as in the case of Dr. Hani, for all I know they might be the Security Police, and not the strong arm of the Ba'th.

3. I am finding in general cocktail and other gossip that more people are less willing now to put their money on Hardan Tikriti's survival as the strong man of the country. It is believed that the forces of the Ba'th party are working actively against him, particularly by infiltration through the Army, from whom of course he draws his main support. The feeling seems to be that although he has much popular sympathy and support, he walks almost alone in the hierarchy. He may of course have something up his sleeve, but Abdul Karim al Shaikhly, the pistol packing M.F.A., is not the sort of person he will wish to have on his back. (See our telegram reporting that Shaikhly was angry with Tikriti for keeping him out in the cold while he enjoyed personal interviews with Faisal and Sabah Salim.)

Iraq/Jordan

4. I have heard some speculation about the reason for the very hurried visit to Baghdad last week end of Bashir Talib, the Iraqi Ambassador to Jordan. The wish to find a motive for the visit derives from a statement by King Hussain at the time of the fedayin trouble 10 days ago in which he is said to have declared that neither Cairo nor Damascus had had a hand in stirring up the trouble. The omission of Baghdad from the list of innocents was taken to mean that Hussain was pointing a finger at Iraq and the Iraqi Ba'th. As a result Bashir Talib was summoned and asked to explain. While here he saw the President. On his return to Amman, Bashir Talib is reported to have said, according to the Baghdad press, that he was carrying a message from Hassan al Bakr in reply to one from Hussain. He is also reported to have said that Iraq supported Jordan in all spheres. Two or three days later, however (on 15 November) General Salah Mahdi Ammash, the other Deputy Prime Minister, announced that a fund-raising committee had been established to raise one million dinars for the

D. J. Makinson, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office.

/year

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



year ending 14 April 1969 in support of Palestine commando organisations. In this context I was interested to hear from Ahmad al Jassim, who is normally a very balanced, forthcoming and realistic sort of person, that Kuwait is sending all her spare money to the front. This is undoubtedly an exaggeration but she must be sending a substantial amount. He would not tell me which particular organisation collected Kuwaiti money, but he expressed the hope that one day all the different organisations would become one. He could not name an ingredient which would provide the catalyst to fuse them together. Perhaps it will be the "millions", or what is left of them, if they are ever collected, by the time they reach the front.

Kurds

5. Baba Ali Shaikh Mahmoud told H.M. Ambassador last week that Government circles had undoubtedly been impressed by the recent defeat of the Talabani forces by those of Barazani. Nevertheless the Government had decided to give the Talabanis another chance and were giving them more aid. According to Baba Ali this was a majority decision of the Kurdish Affairs Committee of the Revolutionary Council which had the support of General Ammash but not of Tikriti. Baba Ali agreed that the Kurds would be well advised to come to terms with the Government, even if they did not get 100% of their demands. Their negotiating position was at present strong, was unlikely to improve and might well deteriorate. The Kurds were at present militarily in a good posture and the Government were weak. Unfortunately some of the Kurdish leaders were headstrong and impetuous. Subsequently Baba Ali told the Commercial Counsellor that if the Government were not willing to come to terms they would have to be made to do so. The outlook is not encouraging.

6. I was told last night by an important Kurd that "war has already broken out". I could not pick him for details because we were interrupted, but I had been telling him of a report that according to an Israel broadcast yesterday morning, an Iraqi military aircraft which had been bombing the Kurds strayed over into Iran and was buzzed back over the frontier.

7 Jun 1969

Denis

(A. E. Saunders)

c.c. Washington
Cairo
Beirut
Amman
Ankara
Tehran
Kuwait

→ the Kuwaiti
Chancery

CONFIDENTIAL

R.E. 14/11.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

(14)

Mr 21/11

McKearney

for All Your Needs

Mr. W. J. Swindley

British Dept

21/11

John 13/11
Li Evans

Li Moore

Resigned

has been

Soviet

murdered since

Soviet

CONFIDENTIAL



creep with threats of Communism and Nasserism in order to squeeze us for cash. But to my mind when a leading Arab in office chooses to say that all is not well there must be a fire somewhere to produce his smoke. The Belgian Ambassador, who has, of course, been closely involved in the American cases, believes that an effort is being made to take things in hand. I think we shall have to wait and see. Ammash is not yet back, though Tikriti is.

*Yours ever
Bertram*

(A. E. Saunders)

c.c. Chanceries:

Washington
Cairo
Beirut
Amman
Ankara
Tehran
Kuwait

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BRITISH EMBASSY,
BEIRUT.

15

(1/24)

15 November, 1968.

RECEIVED IN ARCHIVES No.15
27.11.1968
NEG 1/1

I attach a copy of a minute by
our Visa Section about Ali Mahideen
Al Araji, which may be of some interest
to you.

I am sending a copy of this letter
and enclosure to Near Eastern Department.

(J.L.Y.Sanders)

A. E. Sanders Esq.,
BAGHDAD.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN

CONFIDENTIAL

Minutes.

Mr. Sanders

We spoke.

I have today granted visas to Mr. Ali Muhidseen Al-ARAJI and his two daughters Nadia and Shahrazad but his interview did cross political questions concerning the situation in Iraq which may be of interest.

Mr Al-Araji was formerly the Director-General of Oil Planning and Construction Administration in Baghdad. When asked why he did not apply at our Embassy in Baghdad for U.K. visas he said that he felt that he and his family (his wife is British) had to leave the country quickly because of the current situation and mentioning in particular the murder two days ago of the former Iraqi Ambassador to the Lebanon. He further stated that he would not return as long as the present circumstances prevailed. His wife and children would proceed directly to the U.K. and stay with his in-laws (Ref(1) on the attached application form) but he would be going to Libya to consider offers of employment there first. He added that there was no question of permanent residence in the U.K. as he found our taxation too high.

D.J. Hollamby

(D.J. Hollamby)
Visa Examiner
13 November 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

16
R.E. 2/12

I.A.D.

Mr. Evans

(1/20)

BRITISH EMBASSY,

Reg.

CAIRO

2/11
2/11

26 November, 1968



Dr. Nasir al Hani

11

Baghdad telegram No. 416 of 14 November referred to a report that Ahram published a report that Dr. Nasir al Hani had resigned two days before his assassination. I am sorry to say that we have been unable to trace this report in our editions of Ahram.

NEQ 25/1 ⑥

2. Incidentally, Abdul Wahab al Ahmadi (about whom I wrote separately on 21 November) told me that Dr. al Hani used to be an "external contributor" to the B.B.C., and was clearly citing al Hani's assassination as further evidence of the unwisdom of anyone who had had contacts with the B.B.C. returning to Iraq at present.

3. I am sending a copy of this letter to Donald Makinson in Near Eastern Department.

MB

(P.R.H. Wright)

A.E. Saunders Esq.,
BAGHDAD.

P.A. Jr 6/12

Mr. Makinson

I spoke to Charles McHolland on lines we had agreed - without disclosing the source. He was grateful for the information, saying at the same time that Elsworth was reporting that all was sweetness & light in Iraq for the moment, & that the time seemed propitious for redistributing 'Hana London'. We agreed though that after last night's bombing the Iraqis might have gone back to their earlier position!

K.J. Macomberie.
5/12/68.

CONFIDENTIAL



28/11
M² Wathis

~~Mr. Makinson.~~ Mr. E. 25/11
1. Comm. Soil Dept. in Fellingworth

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS

OF

THE CHANCERY

(J.L.Y. Sanders)

2. Reg.
p.a. 8th 3/12

Near Eastern Department,
Foreign Office.

15 November, 1968.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
BEIRUT.

Cutting dated 29 Nov 1968, 19

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES No. 15

- 4 DEC 1968

NEQ 11

17

Terror reign by Iraq regime in power struggle

By RICHARD BEESTON

BAGHDAD, Thursday.

BAGHDAD today is a city gripped by fear as Iraq's rulers, in an attempt to cling to power, lash out at both Right-wing and Communist opposition. Pre-dawn arrests, torture and murder are being carried out by armed thugs of the ruling Baath party.

These people are penetrating the Army and are taking over the country's intelligence and security services.

The central committee of the Iraq Communist party today issued a manifesto accusing the régime of a campaign of terror and of massacring workers.

Other victims of the régime are the middle class, especially those with business connections in the West, the Christians and the pro-Nasserites.

Telephones tapped

People are afraid to talk politics or to be seen with foreigners. Western businessmen are being warned not to try to telephone their Iraqi commercial contacts because the telephones are tapped and conversation with a foreigner could lead to gaol.

About 300 civilians have been arrested recently. Several people have been murdered or died under torture.

Senior Army officers, including a former Defence Minister, Brig. Abdel Aziz Okeili, are being held in Baghdad's Rose Palace, where King Feisal was murdered in the 1958 revolution and which has been turned into a VIP gaol.

The murder that has most terrorised the population took place earlier this month, when the body of a former Foreign Minister, Nasir el Hani, was found in the military canal on the outskirts of Baghdad.

Three armed civilians arrived at Mr Hani's house after dark and took him away after threatening to shoot his Irish wife. His murderers were believed to be Baath party gunmen. Significantly, no arrests have been made.

Mr. Hani, a moderate, academic, diplomat who had been Ambassador in Washington, was adviser on foreign affairs to President Hassan al-Bakr, but he had criticised the régime and offered his resignation. This is believed to be the reason for his murder.

Abdel Wahad Zaky, owner of a Coca Cola bottling plant was tortured to death by the secret police. He was beaten, kicked and jumped on.

There are many authenticated accounts of tortures of political prisoners in Baghdad and Mosul, including beatings about the head and the removal of finger nails.

On Nov. 7 six Communists were reported to have been taken away from a workers' demonstration in Baghdad and shot.

One name linked with these excesses is the Interior Minister, Gen. Mahdi Saleh Ammash.

In his efforts to root out "cosmopolitanism," he had 20 American Jesuit teachers and 10 American and German lay teachers of the Al Hikmat university turned out of the country this week.

The university was the last remaining educational institution in Iraq with internationally acceptable standards of education.

Extremist supporters of Gen. Ammash include the Foreign Minister, Abdel Kerim Sheikly, and the Information Minister, Abdullah Samarrai. Opposed to this group is the Defence Minister, Gen. Hardan Tikriti, of the Air Force.

He is reported to be fighting attempts by the Baath to dominate the army with party commissars.

Civil Service purged

Already the Baath have carried out an almost total purge of senior members of the Civil Service, replacing them with their own men. They have also sent a group of their gunmen into the army for officers training courses.

President al-Bakr appears to be unable or unwilling to put an end to the terror by extremists of his party.

The régime has lost all popular support outside the party and the next phases is likely to be a struggle for power between the party commissars and the army.

P. 2 pp

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Cutting dated 28 NOV 1968, 19(4)
RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES No.15
- 1968

Iraqis flee as Ba'athists begin purge

Bagdad, November 28

The ruling Ba'athists have begun a purge against opponents of President Al-Bakr's four-month-old administration which has caused an exodus of educated Iraqis and thrown the upper levels of the Civil Service into chaos, sources said.

More than 30 American and German lecturers, 22 priests and 10 laymen were forced on Tuesday to leave a university in Bagdad which the Roman Catholic Jesuit order had run for more than 30 years.

The sources said that people in Bagdad were reluctant to be seen with foreigners, or to talk on the telephone. They were frightened by rumours of town prisons filling up, of torture, and of people disappearing after pre-dawn arrests.

One estimate was that at least 300 people had been imprisoned by the regime's secret police. The victims ranged from Communists and Nasserites to extreme Right-wingers. Many senior civil servants, including most of the ministerial director-generals, had been replaced. Among those known to be in prison were a former Prime Minister, Taher Yahya, and a former Defence Minister, Abdul Aziz Okeili.

Palace as prison

The Rose Palace—scene of King Faisal's assassination in 1958—was said to have been turned into a prison for important prisoners, with Mr Okeili one of them.

There have been reports of shootings at night. Speculation has surrounded the deaths of former Foreign Affairs Minister, Nasser Al Hani, and the owner of a Coca-Cola bottling plant, Wahid Zaki.

Mr Hani's body was found in a canal after three men were said to have appeared at his home and arrested him at gun-point.

Sources said that they believed the regime had been trying to force Mr Zaki to admit to using bribes to extend the operation of his Coca-Cola factory beyond the expiration date laid down by the boycott-of-Israel ruling which banned the drink throughout the Middle East.—UPI.

18

EN CLAIR

TOP COPY

BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO 491 4 DECEMBER, 1968

UNCLASSIFIED

RECEIVED	IN
ARCHIVES	
- 5 DEC 1968	
NEQ 1/1	

NE
John 5/1
PA

1. ADDSD TO FCO TELNO491 OF 4 DEC RFI SAVING TO AMMAN BEIRUT TEL AVIV WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK. THE IRAQI PRESS OF 1 AND 2 DECEMBER STRONGLY CRITICISED THE BBC AND BRITISH NEWS AGENCIES FOR CARRYING FALSE REPORTS ABOUT MASS ARRESTS IN IRAQ. WHILE ONE PAPER (THAWRA) ASSOCIATED THE BBC WITH THE + HIRED NEWSPAPERS OF BEIRUT + ANOTHER (HURRIYA) COMMENTED ON THE + APPORTIONMENT OF ROLES BETWEEN THE BBC AND TEL AVIV RADIO +. THE CAMPAIGN IS SAID TO REPRESENT AN ATTEMPT BY IMPERIALISM TO UNDERMINE THE NATIONAL UNITY WHICH HAS BEEN ACHIEVED BY THE 17 JULY REVOLUTION AND THUS TO PREVENT IRAQ FRM PLAYING HER PART IN THE + CURRENT UPSURGE OF THE ARAB NATION +.

2. THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER IN ITS EDITORIAL OF 3 DEC REPEATED THAT IMPERIALISM HAD WORKED CEASELESSLY AGAINST THE REVOLUTION IN ORDER TO DISRUPT NATIONAL UNITY IN THIS COUNTRY.

3. THIS IS THE FIRST OCCASION SINCE THE RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS THAT THE BBC AND BRITISH NEWS AGENCIES HAVE BEEN SPECIFICALLY CRITICISED. FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO AMMAN BEIRUT TEL AVIV WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

MR. EVANS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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PRIORITY BAGHDAD

TELEGRAM NUMBER 497

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

5 DECEMBER 1968.

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SECRET

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 497 OF 4 DECEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION SAVING TO WASHINGTON PARIS TEHRAN BEIRUT AND THE HAGUE.

MY TELEGRAM NO 474: IRAQI OIL.

MCP 359/1 (37)

PA

pm 6/2

IT IS STILL DIFFICULT TO MAKE A FIRM ASSESSMENT OF THE STABILITY AND NEGOTIABILITY OF THE REGIME. ON THE ONE HAND THE RECENT EXPULSION OF AMERICAN JESUITS FROM THE AL HIKMA UNIVERSITY APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A DECISION FORCED THROUGH BY AMMASH WITH THE SUPPORT OF MORE EXTREME OPINION IN THE PARTY AGAINST THE WISHES OF PRESIDENT BAKR. THIS HAS REINFORCED THE IMPRESSION CREATED BY THE KILLING OF NASIR AL ANI AND THE SHOOTING OF A NUMBER OF COMMUNISTS THAT THE WILDER MEN IN THE PARTY HAVE GAINED STRENGTH. THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS THAT BAKR THREATENED TO RESIGN AND EVEN THAT HE AND TAKRITI HAD BEEN INVITED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. HIS GLOOM, WHEN I SAW HIM ON 25 NOVEMBER - PLEASE SEE MY TELEGRAM NO 452 - IS IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES NOT SURPRISING. WE HAVE NOW HEARD, HOWEVER, THAT AMMASH, WHO HAS APPARENTLY BEEN UNWELL FOR SOME TIME, WAS TAKEN ILL ON 1 DECEMBER AS A RESULT OF A HEART ATTACK OR COLLAPSE THROUGH OVERWORK COUPLED PERHAPS WITH THE EFFECT OF THE RAMADAN FAST AND THIS MAY PROVE SOME SETBACK FOR THE FACTION HE LEADS.

2. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT HIS POSITION HAD CORRESPONDINGLY WEAKENED, TAKRITI GAVE NO SIGN OF ANY LACK OF CONFIDENCE TO THE MARCONI REPRESENTATIVE WITH WHOM HE WAS NEGOTIATING DURING THE WEEK ENDING 30 NOVEMBER. HE HAS HOWEVER MADE IT CLEAR TO THE MARCONI REPRESENTATIVE THROUGH AN INTERMEDIARY THAT HE WILL NOT SIGN THE CONTRACT BEFORE BEING PAID 30,000 POUNDS, WHICH IS ALLEGEDLY NEEDED TO INFLUENCE OPINION WITHIN THE PARTY. HE ALSO APPEARS TO CONTEMPLATE OBTAINING A CORRESPONDING CUT FROM MARCONI'S AS THE PRICE OF GIVING THEM A CONTRACT WORTH ABOUT SIX AND A HALF MILLION POUNDS. THE INTERMEDIARY TOLD MARCONI'S REPRESENTATIVE THAT IF THEY COULD NOT GET THE MONEY, THEY MIGHT HAVE TO STAGE A COUP D'ETAT.

3. TAKRITI

SECRET

19

SECRET

- 2 -

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES NO. 12

3. TAKRITI HAS, OF COURSE, MADE NO SECRET OF HIS NEED TO ACHIEVE A NOTABLE SUCCESS, IN PARTICULAR INCREASED PAYMENTS FROM THE IPC, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN HIS HAND WITH THE PARTY - PLEASE SEE MY TELEGRAM NO 253. HIS FAILURE SO FAR TO ACHIEVE ANYTHING TANGIBLE IN THE MATTER OF INCREASED OIL PAYMENTS MAY HAVE MADE HIM LOOK TO OTHER SOURCES, E.G. MARCONIS, AS AN INTERIM MEASURE. TAKRITI WILL UNDOUBTEDLY LINE HIS OWN POCKET BUT HIS NEED FOR CASH TO FURTHER HIS POLITICAL ENDS CAN ALSO BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

4. TAKRITI WILL BE GOING TO TEHRAN ON 5 DECEMBER. THE VISIT WHICH PRESIDENT BAKR PAID TO THE HOLY CITIES OF KUFA AND NEJEF AND HIS CALL ON THE SHIA DIVINHE ASATALLAH AL HAKIM WERE PRESUMABLY INTENDED TO ENLIST HIS SUPPORT FOR TAKRITI WITH THE SHAH. IT CAN BE ASSUMED THAT TAKRITI WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO WIN THE SHAH'S COOPERATION IN THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE KURDISH PROBLEM - HE VISITED THE NORTH ON 1 DECEMBER.

5. THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN THE PRESENT REGIME OTHER THAN TAKRITI WHO SEEM WELL DISPOSED TOWARDS BRITAIN IN THE COMMERCIAL FIELD. THE MINISTERS OF INDUSTRY AND PLANNING ARE HOPING TO PAY AN UNOFFICIAL VISIT TO THE UNITED KINGDOM WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. FURTHERMORE, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAD A VERY FRIENDLY MEETING WITH HAHU ON 28 NOVEMBER (MY TELEGRAM NO 474). TAKRITI HIMSELF TOLD THE MARCONI REPRESENTATIVE THAT HE INTENDED TO DO A GREAT DEAL OF BUSINESS WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM. IN PARTICULAR HE SAID THAT THE AIR FORCE INTENDED TO BUY EITHER LIGHTNINGS OR JAGUAR STRIKE AIRCRAFT AS WELL AS COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT.

/6. MY CONCLUSION

SECRET

S E C R E T

BAGHDAD TELEGRAM NO. 497 TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

- 3 -

6. MY CONCLUSION IS THAT IN SPITE OF MUCH UNCERTAINTY AND A NUMBER OF DISTINCTLY DISAGREEABLE FEATURES, THE REGIME MAY BE ABLE TO HOLD TOGETHER LONGER THAN MIGHT AT FIRST SIGHT BE THOUGHT POSSIBLE. DELEGATES OF THE IRAQI BA'ATH PARTY ARE AT PRESENT MEETING TO DISCUSS POLICY AND TO ELECT A REGIONAL COMMAND AND IT SHOULD BE KNOWN WITHIN A FEW DAYS HOW RADICAL THEIR DECISIONS ARE. ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT, IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO NATIONALIZE INTER ALIA THE BASRAH PETROLEUM COMPANY BUT NOT THE IRAQ PETROLEUM COMPANY (IN KIRKUK) OR THE MOSUL PETROLEUM COMPANY. THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO CONFIRMATION OF THIS REPORT AND AS INDICATED ABOVE, ELEMENTS OF THE REGIME ARE WELL DISPOSED. IN FACT THE GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE REGIME TOWARDS US IS RATHER MORE FAVOURABLE THAN THAT OF ANY OF ITS IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS. A GOOD DEAL WILL PERHAPS DEPEND ON THE SUCCESS OR OTHERWISE OF OF TAKRITI'S MISSION TO TEHRAN.

FCO PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON PARIS TEHRAN BEIRUT AND THE HAGUE.

MR. EVANS.

/REPEATED AS REQUESTED/

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DEFENCE POLICY DEPT.
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COMMODITIES & OIL DEPT.

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S E C R E T

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UPI

B56 IRAQ EXPELS 25 JESUITS

(VATICAN RADIO) TWENTY-FIVE JESUITS, AND TWO OTHER RELIGIOUS, HAVE BEEN EXPelled AS UNDESIRABLES BY THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT. THEY SAY THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROCEEDED TO TAKE OVER THE FREE AL-HIKMA UNIVERSITY OF BAGHDAD, GOVERNED BY THE AMERICAN JESUITS.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY AND THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN VERY CORDIAL. LAST SEPTEMBER THE UNIVERSITY WAS BROUGHT UNDER IRAQI CONTROL AND GIVEN AN IRAQI PRINCIPAL. AT THE BEGINNING OF NOVEMBER, EIGHT JESUITS WERE EXPelled. WHEN AN EXPLANATION WAS ASKED FOR, 17 MORE JESUITS AND TWO MEMBERS OF ANOTHER RELIGIOUS ORDER WERE EXPelled.

END BBC MON 2027 3/12 SB UPI

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- 5 DEC 1960

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ОБ УЧОЛНЕС КЕРГІСЮР 0НДЕР НЫБА ЕХЪЕРГЕР.
ЕХЪГУАНАЛЮИ АУС УАКЕД ҮОБАД АД МОКЕ 2ЕЗАЛДА УИД 1МО НАКЕДИАРД И
ЛНЕ ВЕСІМІНІС ОБ ИСАБИМЕВ. ЕІСНІ 2ЕЗАЛДА НЫБА ЕХЪЕРГЕР. АНЕИ НЫ
БІСІПСАЛ ОДЫС 18УОД СОИЗОГ ЧИД СЛАЕМ 1М 18УОД 1ЫЛІСІЛГ. VI
РУАЕ ЧУГУАС ВЕМ АЕЗА ССОКДІЛГ. ГУСА 2ЕЗАЛДАСЫН 1МІДАЕВАДЕ АМ2
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Boromny So (ake)

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CONFIDENTIAL

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CYPHER/CAT A

IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD

TELEGRAM NUMBER 498

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

5 DECEMBER 1968



CONFIDENTIAL

19

p.a. Han 6/12

ADDSD TO FCO TEL NO 498 OF 5 DEC REPTD FOR INFMN SVG TO
WASHINGTON PARIS BEIRUT TEHRAN AND THE HAGUE.

MY TELEGRAM NO 497: IRAQI OIL.

PLEASE UPGRADE THIS TELEGRAM TO SECRET AND IN ORDER TO
RESPECT THE CONFIDENCE OF THE INFORMATION IN PARAGRAPH 2,
TREAT ON A "NEED TO KNOW" BASIS.

FCO PASS SVG TO WASHINGTON PARIS BEIRUT TEHRAN AND THE HAGUE.

MR. EVANS

REPEATED AS REQUESTED/

FILES

NEAR EASTERN DEPT.
DEFENCE POLICY DEPT.
P.U.S.D.
COMMODITIES & OIL DEPT.
DIS MOD

NNNN

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CONFIDENTIAL

EN CLAIR

PRIORITY BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO 505

5 DECEMBER 1968

UNCLASSIFIED **TOP COPY**

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES NO. 15
21

6 DEC 1968
NEQ/1

ADDED TO FCO TELNO 505 OF 5 DEC RPTD FOR INFO TO AMMAN BEIRUT
CAIRO KUWAIT TEL AVIV TEHRAN AND SAVING TO WASHINGTON UKMIS NEW
YORK.

A DEMONSTRATION TOOK PLACE ON EVENING OF 4 DECEMBER IN DENUNCIATION
OF RECENT ISRAELI ATTACKS.

2. LATER IN EVENING AN APPEAL BY REGIONAL COMMAND OF BAATH PARTY
WAS MADE ON RADIO AND ON TELEVISION. IT CALLED ON PEOPLE, NATIONAL
AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANISATIONS TO TAKE PART IN A RALLY TO TAKE
PLACE AT 10 AM TODAY 5 DECEMBER TO CONDEMN IMPERIALIST ZIONIST
AGGRESSION AND TO HONOUR MARTYRS OF ARABISM WHO HAD FALLEN WHILE
RESISTING. APPEAL WAS FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR CALLS OF SUPPORT BY
VARIOUS TRADE UNIONS.

3. STUDENTS, WORKERS AND PEASANTS TOOK PART IN THIS MORNING'S
VERY LARGE BUT ORDERLY DEMONSTRATION WHICH FOLLOWED NORMAL ROUTE
THROUGH CITY TO PRESIDENTIAL PALACE. SCHOOLS, BANKS AND COMMERCIAL
OFFICES WERE CLOSED AND MANY GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS WERE EITHER
CLOSED OR WORKING WITH SKELETON STAFFS. MINISTERS AND RESPONSIBLE
OFFICIALS ARE ALSO SAID TO HAVE TAKEN PART. DEMONSTRATORS CARRIED
CUSTOMARY BANNERS AND CHANTED USUAL SLOGANS. BANNER READ "DEATH TO
THE NEW AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM", "DEATH TO AMERICAN SPIES" AND "DEATH
TO THE KILLERS OF THE MARTYR TAHIR HABOUB" (SAID BY THE RADIO TO
BE A MEMBER OF THE ARMED FORCES MURDERED ON THE EVENING OF 4 DECEMBER
IN BAGHDAD BY THE "FIFTH COLUMN") IN SPEECHES INCLUDING ONE BY
PRESIDENT BAKR PLOTS AND INTRIGUES WITHIN AND OUTSIDE IRAQ WERE
DENOUNCED AND AMERICANS CAME IN FOR SPECIAL MENTION. FCO PASS
SAVING TO WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK

MR. EVANS

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CY/CER CAT A
PRIORITY BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NUMBER 517

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
10 DECEMBER 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO. 517 OF 10 DECEMBER REPEATED
FOR INFORMATION SAVING TO WASHINGTON, PARIS, THE HAGUE,
TEHRAN, BEIRUT.

19. MY TELNO. 497: IRAQI OIL(INTERNAL SITUATION).

IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME SLIGHT
EASING OF TENSION DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS.

2. GENERAL AMMASH HAS RE-SURFACED AFTER HIS INDISPOSITION.
WHEN I SAW HIM AT A RECEPTION ON 6 DECEMBER HE WAS QUITE
FRIENDLY. I HAD PREVIOUSLY WRITTEN TO HIM ABOUT AN
EXPULSION ORDER AGAINST A BRITISH CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT
AND ON 7 DECEMBER, AT THE LAST MOMENT, THE ORDER
WAS RESCINDED ON HIS INSTRUCTIONS. I HAVE ALREADY REPORTED
ON THE RELEASE OF THE BRITISH WIFE OF AN IRAQI WHO HAD
BEEN UNDER DETENTION FOR SIX WEEKS ON SUSPICION OF BEING
CONNECTED WITH AN ESPIONAGE CASE-PLEASE SEE MY TELNO. 475.
MORE RECENTLY, SEVEN AMERICAN SCHOOL TEACHERS,
RECENTLY EXPELLED, HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO RETURN.

3. THE IRAQI BA'ATH PARTY CONFERENCE IS OVER AND
AS FAR AS IS KNOWN, NOTHING DIRE WAS DECIDED. ACCORDING
TO MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE, THE NEW COMMITTEE HAS MUCH THE
SAME MEMBERSHIP AS THE OLD.

14.

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-2-

4. THE ISRAELI ATTACK ON IRAQI ARMY POSITIONS IN JORDAN AND THE RESULTING CASUALTIES HAVE, IF ANYTHING, SERVED TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM INTERNAL RIVALRIES, IF NOT TO RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT.
5. FINALLY, GENERAL TAKRITI'S ABSENCE FROM THE COUNTRY IS POSSIBLY AN INDICATION THAT THE REGIME IS AT LEAST NOT ABOUT TO FALL APART, AND THAT TAKRITI HIMSELF IS CONFIDENT ENOUGH.
6. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH HAS WORSENED. CLASHES BETWEEN THE KURDISH REBELS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT-SUPPORTED RIVALS HAVE CONTINUED AND THE ARMED FORCES HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY INVOLVED. THE SABOTAGE OF A TRAIN ON 4 DECEMBER HAS CLEARLY WORRIED THE GOVERNMENT.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON, PARIS,
THE HAGUE, TEHRAN, BEIRUT.

MR. EVANS.

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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N.EAST. D.
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CONSULAR D.
NEWS D.

CONFIDENTIAL

16 DEC 1968

23

Cutting dated 19

Iraq claims "spy ring" exposed

BEIRUT, Dec. 15.

IRAQ disclosed overnight that it had broken up an Israeli espionage network which sought to collect military information and bring about a change of the regime in preparation for a conclusion of a peaceful settlement with Israel.

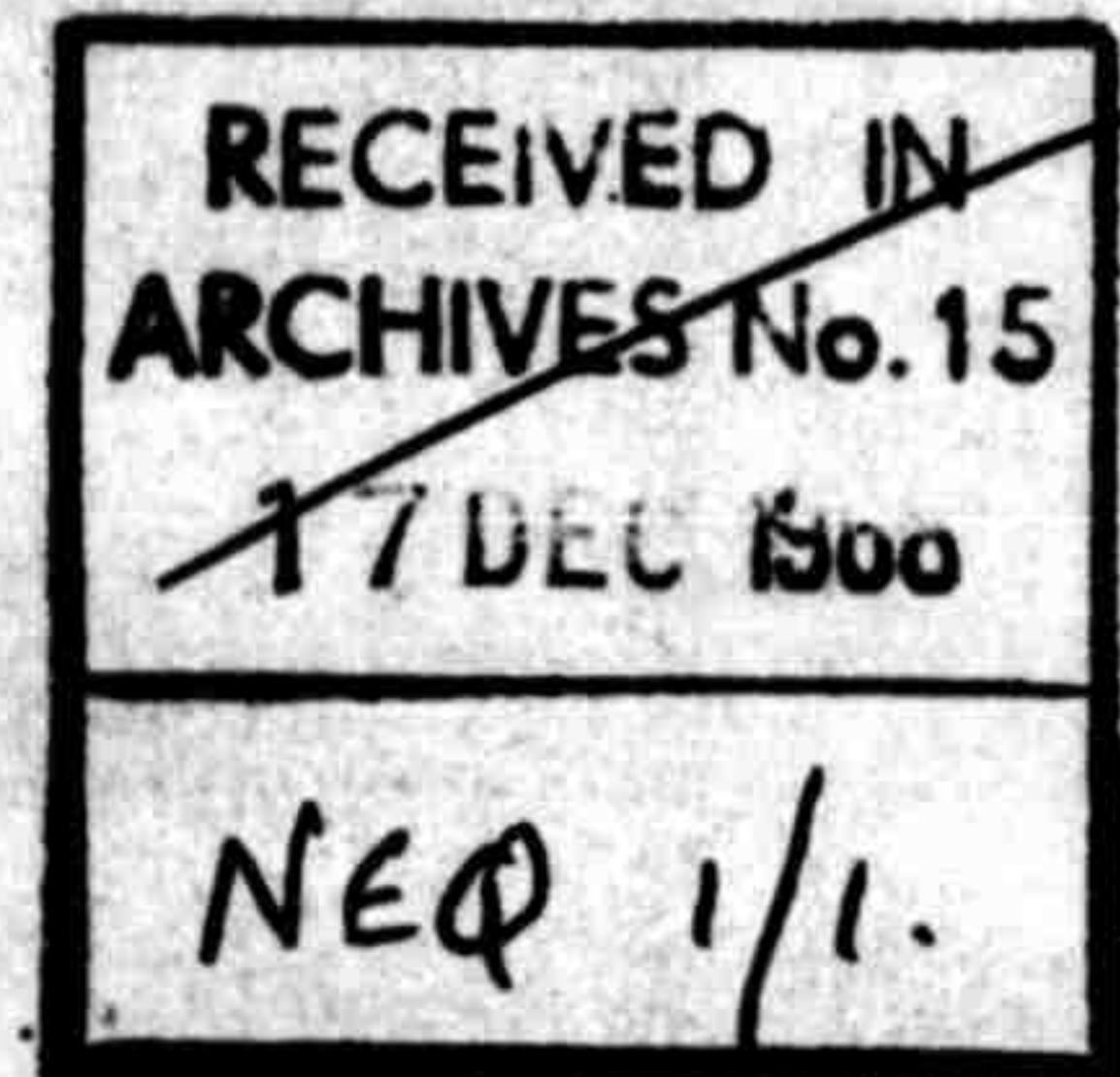
Baghdad Radio and television broadcast live statements by two Iraqi, a soldier and a lawyer described as key members of the network. They testified that the network was based in Iraq's southern port of Basra and was headed by two Iraqi Jews whose names were given as Izra Zilkha and Albert Habibi.

The soldier, Sadek Hawi, said that he was recruited to provide the network with information about Soviet military supplies to Iraq. He later acted as a courier delivering messages to the lawyer, Abdel Hadi Bishari, in Baghdad.

In his statement, Bishari said he was first approached by another Iraqi, a store-keeper, who told him that a "big plan" had been prepared with the aid of the Central Treaty Organisation.

The storekeeper is alleged to have said that ex-Premier Abdel Rahman Bazzaz and ex-Defence Minister Major-Gen. Abdel Aziz Uqeili had given their approval to the plan.

John
Copy to Mr Edmonds
Ankara
18/12
Then file



TRIAL BY TV FOR IRAQIS IN SPY CASE

By RICHARD BEESTON
in Beirut

A "TRIAL by television" of two Iraqis accused of spying for America and Israel took place in Baghdad this weekend as spy fever swept Iraq.

The two men told television viewers that they had worked for an Israeli spy network in Basra. The television announcer also claimed that they were employed by the American Central Intelligence Agency.

Shortly before their appearance on television, the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council announced the creation of a "revolutionary court" to try "spies, agents, enemies of the people and counter-revolutionaries."

During the television "confession," viewers heard extracts of a speech by President Hassan al Bakr of Iraq in which he vowed that "no spy will live in Iraq after this day."

"Recruited in Basra"

One of the alleged spies, Sadek al Hawi, told viewers that he was recruited in Basra to collect military information and details of Soviet weapons supplied to the Iraqi forces. The second man, a lawyer named Abdul Hawi Bishawi, said the conspirators were working for a change in the régime and peace with Israel.

Among people implicated were the former Iraqi Prime Minister, Mr. Abdul Rahman Bazzaz and the former Defence Minister, Gen. Abdel Aziz Uqaili. It was also maintained that the British-sponsored Central Treaty Organisation was involved.

The announcement of the espionage "revelations" coincides with a virulent anti-American campaign by the Iraqi Press and radio. The signs are that the shaky and unpopular régime in Iraq is now going to whip up a spy fever and stage public trials in an effort to divert attention from its growing problems.

NE Div.

*McMahon
(Rather good, I think
Adams.)*

15/12

pa. Jan 10/62

Iraq

Bloody country

FROM OUR MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

The expulsion last week from Baghdad of a number of western teachers and the flight of some businessmen and other educated Iraqis was only part of an exodus that has been going on for three months. The period has been marked by purges, arrests and a growing atmosphere of violence. What is striking is that the arrests cover the whole political spectrum from right-wing army officers through Nasserists to pro-Syrian Baathists and communists.

The new regime's first weeks in power showed trouble was on the way. Its appeal for a national front was shunned by other political groupings. At the time this seemed puzzling. The Aref-Yahya regime had been deeply unpopular, and General Abu Baqr's coup last July was welcomed in and outside Iraq. But the welcome soured faster than usual. Maybe the speed with which the Baath leaders got rid of the younger officers who helped in their coup activated latent suspicion and fear of the party. That fear has been steadily increasing throughout the autumn. Recent visitors say that Iraqis are now afraid to be seen with westerners, and dare not talk freely on the telephone. Under the former President Aref Baghdad was remarkable for freedom to grumble.

All this points to a loss of control by the regime over its more doctrinaire sections. President Abu Baqr promised that the dreaded national guard would not be allowed to reappear and until now they have not, at least not in uniform. But party commissars are said

to be omnipresent and both the minister of defence, Lieut-General Takriti, and the minister of the interior, Lieut-General Ammash, have their own security forces. No one knows whether it was one of these groups, or another, that abducted and assassinated Dr Nasser al Hani on November 10th.

Mystery still surrounds the death of this amiable man, a literary critic as well as a diplomat, who had somehow survived every change of regime since the monarchy. Ambassador to Lebanon at the time of the last coup, he was recalled to be foreign minister and later became an adviser to President Abu Baqr. Since his assassination has greatly discredited the regime this might seem to have been its purpose. But other explanations can be found.

Dr Hani's death is not the only blood-stain. In October it was reported that the owner of the Coca-Cola plant had died in prison. On November 5th a serious clash took place when the party militia attacked striking communist workers at a vegetable oil factory, allegedly killing five. Two days later Baath cadres attacked a communist rally celebrating the Russian revolution. The regime in turn has accused the communists of killing Dr Hani. With this reopening of the old blood feud between Baathists and communists one more step towards chaos has been taken and Iraq is faced with a new bout of ideological warfare.

Unlike the rivalry between Iraq's old-time political parties, quarrelling between Baathists and communists in their city-based middle-class groupings is inevitably violent. Apart from religious groups they are the only ideologists with any mass organisation. The right can bide its time, leaving these fated enemies to destroy one another. Pragmatic socialism seems unable to take root in Iraq's troubled earth.

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Near Eastern
Ken.



With the compliments of

COMMODITIES AND OIL DEPARTMENT

*your cosy
we spoke.*

*Doyle
6/12/68*

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

S.W.1

Copy for NEQ 1/1

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CYPHER/CAT A
PRIORITY BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NUMBER 474

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
30 NOVEMBER 1948

SP.
mcl 3591

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ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 474 OF 30 NOVEMBER REFERRED
FOR INFORMATION SAVING TO WASHINGTON PARIS TEHRAN BEIRUT
AND THE HAGUE.

MY TELEGRAM NO 468: IRAQI OIL.

HAHN AND ROAD SAW IRAQI MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ON 28 NOVEMBER. SHEIKHLY WAS RELAXED AND FRIENDLY.
FOLLOWING POINTS EMERGED.

(I) SHEIKHLY SAID THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY STUDYING
THE PAPERS IN CASE OF BANNISTER (CHIEF ENGINEER WHO WAS ORDERED
TO LEAVE COUNTRY APPARENTLY ON SECURITY GROUNDS) AND
SAID THAT HE WOULD LET THEM HAVE A DECISION WITHOUT DELAY.

(II) THE EXTENSION OF LOAN REPAYMENT PERIOD
REQUESTED BY MINISTRY OF OIL AND REFERRED TO IN MY TELEGRAM NO
446 WOULD HAVE A VERY GOOD EFFECT. (COMPANY HAVE
ALREADY AGREED TO EXTENSION AND HAHN HAS BEEN AUTHORISED TO
INFORM IRAQI GOVERNMENT WHEN HE CONSIDERS TIME OPPORTUNE.
HE HOPES TO SEE TAKRITI FIRST).

(III) SHEIKHLY SAID THAT HE FAVOURED MAXIMUM PERSONAL CONTACTS
BETWEEN MEMBERS OF IRAQI GOVERNMENT AND COMPANY OFFICIALS.

(IV) SHEIKHLY SHOWED MUCH INTEREST IN EFFORTS
BEING MADE BY IPC ON AN UNATTRIBUTABLE BASIS TO GIVE PUBLICITY
TO ARAB CAUSE OVER PALESTINE.

2. HAHN AND ROAD ARE MUCH ENCOURAGED BY SHEIKHLY'S
FRIENDLY ATTITUDE.

FCO PASS SAVING WASHINGTON PARIS TEHRAN BEIRUT AND
THE HAGUE.

MR EVANS.

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W (23)

S.W. B 17/12/68

ME/2953/A/1

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

Iraqi Spies' Confessions

Baghdad home service in Arabic 17.03 GMT 14.12.68

Editorial report on live broadcast of confessions by alleged spies:

After recalling President Hasan al-Bakr's pledge of 5th December to expose espionage networks (cf. ME/2945/A/3), the announcer said confessions would be made by Jafar al-Hawi and the lawyer Abd al-Hadi al-Bachchari.

Sadiq Jafar al-Hawi was then asked to give information on his role in the Israeli espionage network, the person who recruited him, members of the network and his tasks. Sadiq Jafar al-Hawi (who spoke for 56 minutes) said his friend Albert Habib Tumas had recruited him in June 1967 in Basrah and introduced him to another member of the network, Izra Naji Zilkhah. Sadiq Jafar said he had been promised 200 dinars for every report submitted. He had obtained information about weapons and troops at the Basrah base. Later he had been introduced to another member of the network, Fu'ad Kabi. Jafar said he had obtained information about tanks and other arms, but had later been told the information was incorrect. He had also obtained information about the Basrah air base, relating to aircraft types and training methods. On instructions from Albert Habib Tumas he had gone to Abadan with an important message, assisted by Albert's brother-in-law and a man called Hajj Yasin. In reply to a question, Sadiq Jafar said that Izra Naji Zilkhah was a Jew and Albert a Christian. He went on to say that he had been instructed to register at the Iranian Hotel in Abadan in the name of Hajj Sadiq, and that he had been told that a man called Husayn Salawat, alias Abu Salatin, would contact him.

Sadiq Jafar said that at one meeting with Albert Habib, Fu'ad Kabi and Izra Naji Zilkhah, the latter had spoken to him about sabotage training of young Iraqi Jews in Abadan and mentioned Na'im Khadduri and Sa'id Zaki as being reliable. Sadiq said that at Zilkhah's request he had hidden Zilkhah's radio in a church with the help of Zaki Zaytuh. The set was later moved to the house of Jamal Subayh al-Hakim. *Christian*

Asked whether the network had feared detection, Sadiq said that Zilkhah had assured him that he had Government connections and that bribery would get them out. Should this fail, Zilkhah had told them to give false information.

Sadiq said he had frequently been instructed to deliver messages, including one to Tami Habib Tumas, who worked aboard ship; some messages from Hajj Abd al-Husayn Jitah to Charles Rufa'il Hawrash; five messages to Abd al-Hadi al-Bachchari; and one message from Georges Moshe Hay to Husayn Jitah. In the course of those movements he had met Mustafa Jitah. Eventually he had given himself up to the authorities when he realised that the network had been discovered.

Christian
Abd al-Hadi al-Bachchari was then asked about the five messages delivered to him by Sadiq Jafar al-Hawi. Bachchari said: A Pakistani tailor from Basrah, Hajj Abd al-Usayn Jitah, called on me and said a message would be delivered to me for delivery to Abd al-Hamid ad-Damirchi. He said this was necessary because the post was slow. A few days later, Sadiq Jafar brought a message addressed to Damirchi in Baghdad. I delivered the message. I delivered another message to Rabbi Sha'ul Sasun, who passed it on to Damirchi. Damirchi once told me: We are in the process of forming a political organisation with the backing of CENTO and the support of certain neighbouring States. The purpose of this organisation, among other things, is to supply military and political information to those countries, particularly because the Iraqi Army has been supplied with a quantity of Russian arms. Another aim of the organisation is to reactivate the Kurdish movement [words indistinct] in the North. The purpose is to pin down the Iraqi Army in the North, so that it cannot go to the Israeli front and take part with the Jordanian forces in the war.

Damirchi also said that the organisation intended to conduct assassination and sabotage operations. Sha'ul Sasun, Mustafa Jitah and a number of Kurdish chiefs co-operated with the organisation, but according to Damirchi, the organisation did not co-operate with Shaykh Ali ash-Sha'lan because he had carried out sabotage in 1963.

Among others named by Damirchi to me, Bachchari went on, were Khalil Kannah - a Minister under the Iraqi monarchy - and his group. Damirchi also said to me: I can tell you we are in contact with the rebel [Kurdish] leaders... Certain neighbouring countries, and particularly CENTO, are supplying them with arms and money. They have opened their borders to these rebels. Damirchi confirmed that the Kurds were receiving money through Hajj Abd al-Husayn Jitah Abu al-Kawkal.

Bachchari continued: When I asked about the purpose of the movement, Damirchi answered that it was to change the regime - the one that existed in Iraq at that time of course - to abolish socialism, to keep Russian influence out of Iraq and the Arabian Gulf, and to liquidate the Palestine issue in accordance with the fait accompli. When I asked him what he meant by the fait accompli and whether it meant that Isreal would continue to occupy the Arab territories it entered after 5th June, he said: No, Israel would withdraw from most of the Arab territories occupied after 5th June; it would also give Jordan part of Palestine that was seized after 1948. When I pointed out that the action being carried out in favour of Israel would arouse the Iraqi and Arab public against the movement, Damirchi said the plan had the backing of certain Arab countries.

Damirchi told me, Bachchari continued, that they had formed a committee abroad, because it might have been discovered if formed within the country. Its members included Muhsin Muhammad Ali, alias Abu Sayf; Abbas Ali Ghalib, a relative of Kamil al-Asad, former President of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies; Muhammad Fakhri al-Jamil; Mahmud Baban; Salih Bahr al-Ulum; Mundhir Fattah Pasha; and Muhammad Sa'id an-Naqib. Among the members in Baghdad were Albert Nunu, Rabbi Sha'ul Sasun and Khalil Kannah. The committee was placed under the orders and guidance of Camille Sham'un - the Lebanese ex-President - and Henri Far'un. Damirchi said that Sham'un's contacts with the USA, Britain and the West would help us to strengthen our position. When I asked Damirchi whether his committee had contacts with the other Arab countries, he answered: We have contacts with Burhan Bash'ayan, Abd ar-Razzaq Humud, Ahmad al-Amir and Hasan Khalid an-Naqib of Kuwait.

Sunni ; distrusted by the Shia

Bachchari went on: Damirchi told me that Abd ar-Rahman al-Bazzaz had become aware of our plan and supported us... If we succeeded in forming a Government of Arabs and Kurds then the CENTO members headed by the USA would support such a Government. According to Damirchi, Khalil Kannah was a candidate for the post of Premier and Abd al-Aziz al-Uqayli for the Ministry of Defence.

Bachchari finally said that he had gathered all this information in order to pass it on to the authorities.

Jordanian Royal Court Statement on Husayn's 'Observer' Interview

Amman home service in Arabic 12.00 GMT 15.12.68

Text of report:

A number of Arab and foreign papers published today a summary of an interview said to have been granted by His Majesty to the correspondent of the London 'Observer' a few days ago. To rectify what was contained in the summary about the King's interview with the correspondent, an official source at the Hashimite Royal Court has issued the following statement:

His Majesty received the Middle East correspondent of the 'Observer' and spoke to him about the current crisis in the area. That crisis broke out following the Israeli aggression against Jordan and the Arab States in June 1967 and has continued because of the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and of other Arab areas.

Shia

Maronite
X

En Clair

ROUTINE BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

Telno. 535 16 December, 1968

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Addressed to FCO telegram No. 535 of 16 December.
Repeated for information to Tehran, Ankara, Beirut, Kuwait,
Amman, Washington, Cairo and Bahrain Residency.

Iraq Spy Case.

You will be aware from Monitoring reports that on 14 December Iraqi radio and television broadcast interviews with two Iraqis who admitted spying for Israel and other activities aimed at changing Government with backing of CENTO, the U.S.A. and other countries including some Arab countries. Names of persons said to be involved included Camille Chamoun, Henry Faroun (Lebanese Politician,) Abdul Rahman Bazzazi (personalities No. 30) retired General Abdul Azaz Al-Uqaili (No.1) and Khalil Kanna (No. 107). Links were said to exist between spy ring in Basra and Abadan where Jewish youths from Basra were said to have received training in sabotage. Interviews stressed that a number of those in plot were Jews and Christians.

Mr. Evans.

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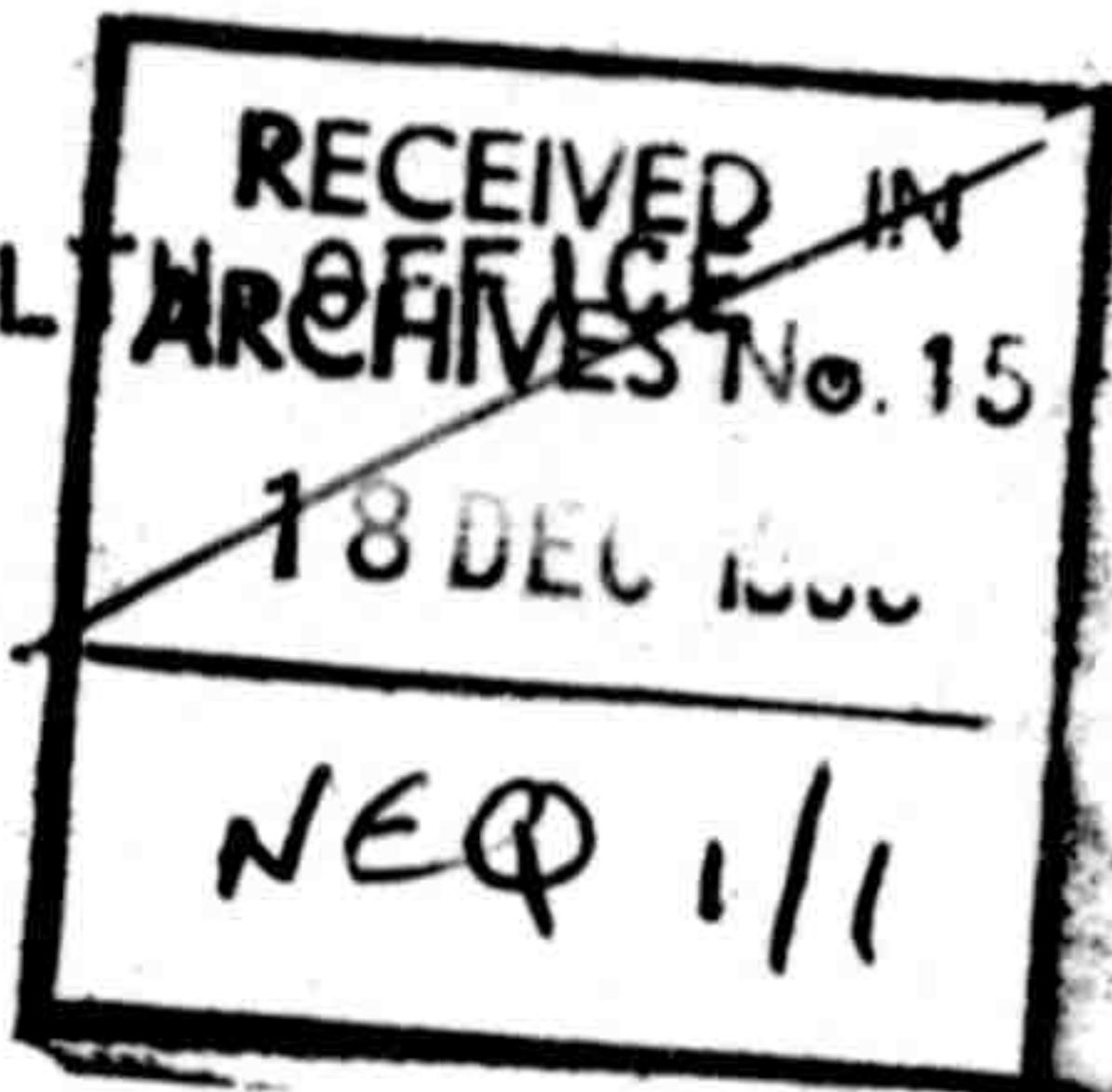
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PRIORITY FROM BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NO 536

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
16 DECEMBER 1968



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pa Dm 18/12

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 536 OF 16 DECEMBER R.F.I. TEHRAN
ANKARA BEIRUT KUWAIT AMMAN WASHINGTON CAIRO AND BAHRAIN RESIDENCY.
M I P T.

WHATEVER THE TRUTH OF THE CHARGES THAT THESE PEOPLE WERE SPYING FOR ISRAEL, AND THERE ARE POINTS WHICH MAKE THE STORY SOUND UNCONVINCING, THE AFFAIR CERTAINLY HAS AN INTERNAL POLITICAL ANGLE. ONE AIM SEEMS TO BE TO DISCREDIT THE ARIF REGIME ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE RING WAS PROTECTED BY PERSONALITIES AND THAT GOVERNMENT: ABDUL RAZZAQ NAYYEF, WHO WAS DIRECTOR OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AT THAT TIME AND SUBSEQUENTLY A LEADER OF THE 17 JULY COUP, MAY BE ONE OF THE MAIN TARGETS. OTHER TARGETS ARE OTHER POSSIBLE FOCI OF OPPOSITION TO THE BAATHISTS SUCH AS BAZZAQ AND UQAILI.

2. THE TIMING OF THE REVELATIONS, WHICH HAVE COME SO SOON AFTER TAKRITI'S APPARENTLY SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO IRAN, SUGGESTS THAT THE CASE MAY ALSO BE A MOVE IN THE GAME BEING PLAYED BY AMMASH AGAINST TAKRITI.

3. SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN NO SPECIFIC MENTION OF THE U.K.

FCO PASS PRIORITY TEHRAN ANKARA BEIRUT KUWAIT AMMAN WASHINGTON CAIRO AND BAHRAIN RESIDENCY

MR EVANS

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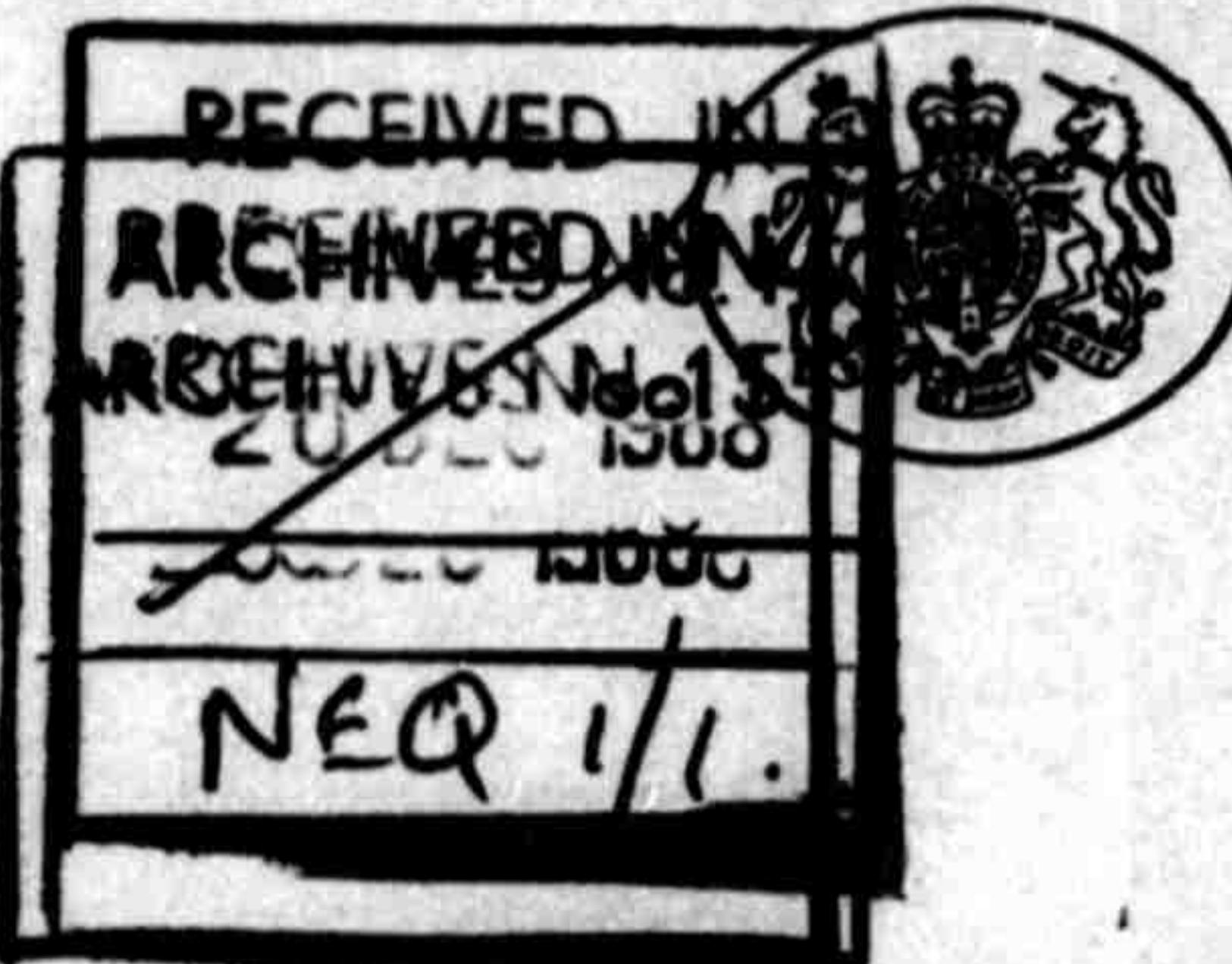
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26



BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

14 December 1968

~~h- Evans.~~

R.E. 2/12.

Reg

A. E. ~~2/12~~

NEQ 3/324/1

Dear Donald,

Iraq: Internal

You will have seen our telegram no. 527 of 12 December reporting Hardan Tikriti's statement on his return from Iran.

2. I was told the other evening by someone who is usually reliable in this nest of gossip-mongers that apart from the obvious wish to seek an accommodation over the Kurdish problem, Tikriti was also going to try to seek the Shah's support in pulling off a coup. This was my informant's personal point of view and whether or not he has good ground for thinking in these terms I do not know. The story, however, that there is to be a government change is not only still circulating but gaining strength. The immediate reasons for a change, which it is said will take place within the next three days, are that Bakr is insisting on the murderers of Nasr al Hani being rounded up and brought to trial, (the President told the Lebanese Ambassador that he was determined that the Baathis who were responsible for the murders on November 7 should be punished), and that he wants the Baath elements, presumably the National Guard, who have been put into uniform, to be sent to the western front. By implication the re-shuffle or micro-mini coup, or whatever it is going to be seems to be aimed at least at clipping the wings of the Baath Party. An interesting indication would be the fate of Abdullah Salloom al Samarrai, the Minister of Culture and Information, who is very much a Baathi man. This might be a good time to drop him since he is at the moment visiting Moscow and other Eastern bloc countries on an official cultural and information tour.

3. I think it reasonable to assume that some attempt is going to be made at justice being seen to be done, and if past practice is anything to judge by, no doubt a number of innocent people will also suffer. The forum will be a "Revolutionary Court", the establishment of which has just been announced, to try persons conspiring against the security of the country and "corrupt elements". The Court is to be formed under the chairmanship of an Officer not below the rank of Colonel with two other Officers to assist him. It will be empowered to consider crimes which have a bearing on the state's internal and external security. Before reference to the Court, all cases will have to be approved by the Council of Ministers. Today's paper spells out that the Court will try spies, agents, enemies of the people and the "counter-revolutionary column" which does not allow much opportunity for slipping through the net.

*Yours ever,
A. E. Saunders*

(A. E. Saunders)

D. J. Makinson, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department.

c.c. Tehran.

CONFIDENTIAL

(27)

Blueprint for Iraq

IRAQ'S Minister of Planning, 31-year-old Dr. Jawad Hashim, flew back to Baghdad yesterday to be home in time for the Id celebrations to mark the end of Ramadan. Before he left he described to me his tentative blueprint for Iraq's next Five-Year Plan beginning in 1970.

"It will be the first time since the Revolution in 1958 that the emphasis will be on the development of agriculture. The development of industry will be supplementary", he said. More than half the population in Iraq works on the land, but the country can still absorb millions more farmers. The plan will aim to stop the flow of rural populations to the cities—most of the previous plans concentrated mainly on city development.

Talks successful

Dr. Hashim, a statistician who did his Ph.D. thesis at the L.S.E. on capital investment in Iraq, hopes to implement his plan with the help of United Nations experts and the technical section at the Iraqi Ministry of Planning. Of the £1,800m. allocated for Government expenditure from 1958 to 1966, only about £900m. (50 per cent) was actually spent. This time Dr. Hashim hopes to use all of

the £973m. at present allocated to him.

He will attempt to control private investment. "I think every country wants to bring the private sector into line with Government policy. In the new plan we will list projects which the private sector can carry out, and we will tell them that they can get information at our Ministry of Planning. The Baath Party believes that there is a role for the private sector to play, but the nature of the economy will draw the boundary."

Fifty per cent of the oil royalties (which make up 25 per cent of Iraq's national income at constant prices) will be devoted to the plan. Other capital is expected to come from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the U.S.S.R. and France, with whom an agreement was signed last year. Dr. Hashim said his country was interested in any loan with a low interest rate. Has Britain contributed? "Not yet", he replied, but added that his talks here had been successful.

~~W. Hashim~~

Reg & P.A.

Dm 20
12

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23 DEC 1968
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Cutting dated 19 DEC 1968 19

IRAQI MODERATE FACING DEATH FOR 'SPYING'

By Our Staff Correspondent
in Beirut

Dr. Abdul Rahman Bazzaz, 55, former Iraqi Prime Minister and the country's leading statesman, has been arrested by the Baathist régime on espionage charges.

An amendment to the penal code was issued shortly after his arrest imposing the death sentence for espionage during war time. Iraq is officially still in a state of war with Israel.

The arrest comes as no surprise. Dr. Bazzaz, Iraq's only civilian Prime Minister since 1958, was living abroad at the time of the two coups last July. He returned to Baghdad despite friends' warnings that as the leading Iraqi moderate his life would be in danger from the extreme left wing régime.

19 DEC 1968

THE GUARDIAN

Cutting dated 19 DEC 1968 19



Dr Bazzaz

Former Iraqi PM held

Bagdad, December 18

Dr Bazzaz, Iraq's former Prime Minister, and Major-General Oqaily, a former Defence Minister, have been arrested on a charge of spying.

Dr Bazzaz was believed to have been arrested on Sunday after being named by "self-confessed spies" whose trial was broadcast live on Bagdad Radio and television last week. Dr Bazzaz and General Oqaily were also named among 86 people whose property was impounded by an order issued by the President today.

They were accused of taking part in "the Israeli-American spying networks" recently discovered by the Government. The plot allegedly involves Israel, the Central Treaty Organisation, and the Central Intelligence Agency. — Reuter and UPI.

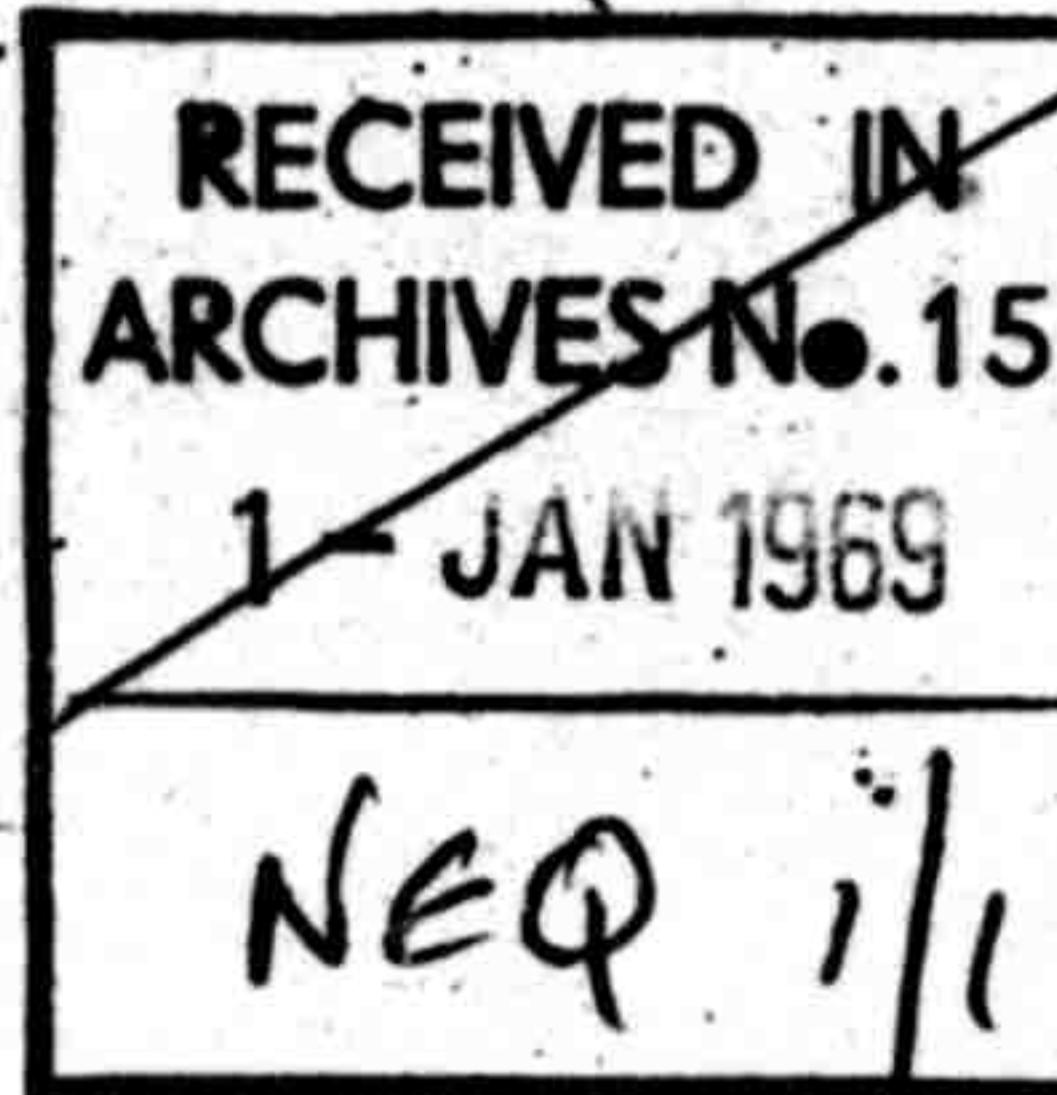
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28

CYPHER CAT/A
ROUTINE BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NUMBER 557

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
30 DECEMBER 1968



CONFIDENTIAL

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NUMBER 557 OF 30 DECEMBER REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO TEHRAN, ANKARA, CAIRO, AMMAN, KUWAIT, BEIRUT AND SAVING TO WASHINGTON.

IRAQ INTERNAL.

YOU WILL HAVE SEEN FROM MONITORING REPORTS THAT FOUR MAJOR-GENERALS INCLUDING THE CHIEF OF STAFF AND A BRIGADIER WERE RETIRED ON 27 DECEMBER AND THAT A NEW CHIEF OF STAFF (HAMAD SHIHAB, A MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL), FIVE DIVISIONAL COMMANDERS AND THE COMMANDER OF THE BAGHDAD GARRISON AND OF HEADQUARTERS COORDINATING ACTION AGAINST THE KURDS HAVE BEEN APPOINTED. OTHER CHANGES LOWER DOWN ARE ALSO KNOWN TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

2. THE CHANGES MAY BE CONNECTED WITH PALESTINE OR WITH KURDISTAN AND IRAN OR MAY BE MANOVRINGS IN THE INTERNAL POLITICAL GAME: THE LAST SEEMS MOST LIKELY. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR HOWEVER HOW THEY AFFECT THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE LEADERSHIP AND IN PARTICULAR WHETHER TAKRITI HAS WON OR LOST THIS ROUND.

3. MY DEFENCE ATTACHE CALLED ON THE NEW CHIEF OF STAFF ON 29 DECEMBER AND WAS WELL RECEIVED. THE CHIEF OF STAFF SAID THAT HE INTENDED THAT THE CONTRACT FOR THE PURCHASE OF FERRET SCOUT CARS SHOULD BE CONCLUDED SOON AND STRESSED THE NEED FOR EARLY DELIVERY.

FCO PASS TEHRAN ANKARA CAIRO AMMAN KUWAIT AND BEIRUT AND SAVING TO WASHINGTON.

MR EVANS.

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MR MAKINSON.

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2 JAN 1969
NEQ 1/1

29

THE TIMES
24 DEC 1968.

4 OVERSEAS NEWS WOMEN'S PAGE

See p. 2

p/a on 2nd file &

Submit

The world's prisoners

By RICHARD HARRIS

Christmas is not just gaining ground as a season when the pickings are good for the salesman. It is some measure of human advance that this Christian festival is now coming to be accepted all over the world as a time of peace and good will, a time properly marked by some gestures of generosity between governments and by governments to those over whom they exercise power.

This year has found the idea even more readily applied. In Vietnam prisoners are exchanged, in North Korea the Pueblo crew can at last go home. Against these gestures between those involved—whether in battle in Vietnam or in the military contest of the cold war—must be set the often helpless and harrowing condition of those who in Britain we should consider to be entirely innocent—the prisoners of conscience.

The term is one adopted by Amnesty International, founded in Britain in 1961, and now with groups acting together in more than 20 countries. Prisoners of conscience do not include those who are violent revolutionaries, however justifiable this might seem to be in the political conditions under which these people live. The prisoner of conscience is a man whose freedom is restricted or who is made to suffer because of his beliefs—the man who is not free to speak or write, often a man held on suspicion or allegation that may be quite unfounded.

Accurate information about the number detained throughout the world is not easy to obtain. It is in the nature of governments that arrest such people that they want to avoid any publicity, and are unlikely to be truthful when questioned. Nor can much be said as between right-wing or left-wing governments. In the third world, both categories are equally culpable of lacking respect for political freedom.

WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA.

The heartland of political freedom and still matched by few countries in the rest of the world. Most of these countries hold no prisoners of conscience at all. The only exceptions are such as France and Italy, where conscientious objections are not countenanced, and the United States, where soldiers have been sentenced for refusal to serve in Vietnam. The European countries in this group are all members of the Council of Europe, which has its own convention of human rights and to which individuals may appeal. Australia and New Zealand may be included in this group.

Greece: Much publicity and very



"The only thing we got out of Human Rights Year was a

beneficial too. The Government is kept on its toes.

Turkey: Below the political standard of its Nato membership; some sentences for supposed communist affiliations. Not many detained but much harrying of left-wing press.

Spain: Improving but still has trade unionists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and occasional students under detention.

Portugal: The habit of detention of any political opponents current throughout the Salazar period has not yet been radically changed, though some releases may now promise more to follow.

Yugoslavia: Still upwards of about 50 are held. There has also been detention of some Croat separatists and members of the Albanian minority.

Russia: Writers and intellectuals, Baptists, Ukrainian nationalists and unknown others in labour camps.

Czechoslovakia: The only east European country with, possibly, a clear record in spite of Russian pressure since August. Poland, Hungary, east Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania all have detainees.

The third world has a poor record over political prisoners and it is not enough publicized. Most of it is black, parts of it are grey. Hardly any is white. Indeed, the "white" tourists' route would be: Chile, Costa Rica, Somalia, Ceylon, India and—if it is to be included with this continental grouping—Japan. That is as much white as the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have to offer.

ASIA

China: Intensive persuasion rather than detention of opponents

has been the common resort, but the label counter-revolutionary is easily applied and can mean a slippery slope from hard work sweeping floors to much harder work in a labour reform camp. Numbers in such camps are unknown. China certainly comes first for imperviousness to outside opinion.

Burma: Still fairly bad in spite of some recent releases. Some politicians are still living under house arrest.

Singapore: Improving, but still far too many detained for a territory that is a functioning democracy where the Government won all seats in the last election. However, an Amnesty group is allowed to function.

Malaysia: Much too ready to detain political opponents but agitation has got some released and the Government is open to persuasion.

India: British ideals of political freedom are still cherished and upheld, although the recent emergence of Chinese-style guerrillas may strain this.

Ceylon: Shares the palm with India as a home of political freedom in Asia.

Pakistan: Figure of those detained changes, but probably over 100. Tendency to arbitrary arrest still strong.

South Korea: Kidnapping of students in west Germany two years ago brought publicity. Probably many other suspects taken in for shorter periods. Recent North Korean infiltration may have increased arrest of suspects.

North Korea: Number unknown, but strict regime certainly detains political opponents.

P
7/1 M

of conscience



ur ears constantly burning".

North Vietnam: Wartime conditions may have induced more repressive measures. Number detained unknown.

Indonesia: The worst record for a non-communist country in Asia. Arrests resulting from the 1965 coup filled detention camps. Probably 80,000 still held. Bad treatment of oversea Chinese, but more by mob violence than detention.

Thailand: Trade unionists and left-wing suspects held from time to time—but present Government much better than Marshal Sarit.

MIDDLE EAST AND ARAB WORLD

Egypt: Fairly bad record of detention. Recent student troubles likely to make matters worse. Total detained may be a few thousand.

Iraq: Figure fluctuates. Quite a few released after last coup, but more were then arrested. Proportionately perhaps the worst Arab country of all.

Lebanon: Near to clear record. Much the best country in the Arab world.

Jordan: Fairly good record, few cases known.

Syria: Unstable. Number detained constantly changing; perhaps 50-100 at present.

Iran: A bad record. Forthcoming trial of 14 intellectuals charged as communists might lead to fairly heavy prison sentences. Number held unknown.

Morocco: Allegations about a coup led to many arrests of political opponents. Number still held unknown.

Algeria: None. Improvement. Those associated with Ben Bella are

now beginning to be released, and Ben Bella himself may soon be freed.

Tunisia: Recent trial of more than 30 students; some sentenced to five or seven years. Number detained seems to be increasing.

AFRICA

Somalia: Clear record, no detainees.

Ghana: Very good, only four Nkrumah supporters still held; also a few trade union leaders after recent strike. Much better than most African countries.

Zambia: Four leaders of banned United Party restricted. Some South African exiles interned after factional troubles; fairly good.

Sierra Leone: State of emergency brought many arrests, but detention not lasting. Figure of a few hundred detained may soon fall.

Kenya: Repressive but more by barring avenues to employment than actual detention; 10 members of the Kenya People's Union opposition held, together with some Somalis from the north-east.

Uganda: Fairly bad. Probably 50 to 100 held, and atmosphere not improving. Some prison conditions very bad.

Tanzania: Several hundred detained in Zanzibar, and a number who fled from Zanzibar now held on mainland.

Malawi: More than 300 held, but conditions, which were bad, are now improving.

Guinea: Fairly bad but number unknown.

Ethiopia: One of the worst cases. Some thousands held and often in very poor conditions.

South Africa: Admits only to Robert Sobukwe detained since Sharpeville, but the wide net of the Terrorism Act is used to impose severe restrictions on contacts and movement of many hundreds. Present figure is 780.

Rhodesia: Much publicized, with African political leaders restricted and some nationalists in gaol.

LATIN AMERICA

The southern states of the continent tend share a bourgeois democratic political tradition, which should mean no prisoners of conscience, whereas some of the states in the north such as Peru and Bolivia tend to have smouldering guerrilla peasant oppositions.

Chile: Good, no prisoners.

Costa Rica: Good, no prisoners.

Uruguay: At one time had good standards, but now going downhill. Some recent arrests on apparently political grounds.

Venezuela: Much improved under new Government. Prisoners being released.

Argentina: Not too bad under Onganía Government; repressive, but few prisoners.

Paraguay: Has been bad in past with appalling prison conditions, but pressure of Stroessner regime becoming lighter.

Mexico: Law makes it easy to detain intellectual opponents of regime. Recent student troubles likely to make Government more sensitive, but prisoners held have fairly good conditions.

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30

BRITISH EMBASSY,

BAGHDAD.

1/3)

RECEIVED IN
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7 JAN 1969

NEQ 1/1.

21 December, 1968.

R.E.
4/1

Dear Donald,

① Mr. Ayshur. Reg.
② Mr. Makinson (O.R.)

Iraq Internal

31

P. 1/3/1

You may like to have a few scraps of information which have come our way since Bertie Saunders wrote to you on 18 December (his letter 1/3) about the spy case.

2. A substantial proportion of the eighty-six who are accused of spying for Israel and the United States are Jews. According to one source, twenty-nine are Jews, nine are Christians and the rest Muslims. It seems probable that all those who are in Iraq are under arrest; certainly Abdul Aziz al Ugaili has been under arrest for several weeks and Abdul Rahman Bazzaz is reported to have been arrested since his return from Beirut earlier this month. Other people not yet named publicly are detained, probably in connexion with the affair. Two Iraqi women employees of the U.S. Interests Section of the Belgian Embassy who used to work for the American Embassy have been arrested in recent weeks and a third evaded arrest by leaving the country. A male Iraqi employee was arrested last week and there is consequently much apprehension among the remainder.

3. Perhaps more importantly, the list of eighty-six people is said to include some friends of General Takriti. If true, this tends to strengthen the theory that the case should in some respects be seen as a move in the game being played by Ammash and Takriti. Another element in the affair is the accusation that CENTO supported the spy ring; apart however from the implied involvement of Iran, one of the accused, Hussain Jetha Gokal, is a member of a wealthy family of Pakistani origin which has international interests and is said to have influence with President Ayoub Khan.

4. Although it is possible that there is some substance in the story of a spy ring and although it may well be true that some of the people named as spies had carried their opposition to the Government to the point of at least discussing how it could be removed, there is little disposition on the part of educated Iraqis or our colleagues to take the charges of wholesale spying for Israel and the U.S. at all seriously. It may be different however among the uneducated, and a West German colleague has remarked on the similarity between this case and those staged in Germany in the nineteen-thirties - the Reichstag trial for example, when opposition to the Nazis was more or less successfully neutralised by playing on the fears and prejudices of the semi-educated.

Yours ever,

McK. P.
(P. McKearney)

D. J. Makinson, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

C.C.
A. Urwick,
Near Eastern

Copied to 1 RD
5 RD

10/14

1/3

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7 JAN 1968
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BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

31

18 December 1968

Dear Donald,

① ~~Mr. Alexander Mahdawi~~ R. E.
② ~~Mr. Makinson (C.R.)~~ Res. 2/4/1
Spies, Espionage, Bribery and Corruption p.s. Dm 1/3/1

Paragraph 3 of my letter No. 1/3 of 14 December referred to justice, the Revolutionary Court, trials, spies and the enemies of the people.

2. On the same evening - 14 December - the main espionage feature of Iraqi Television entertainment provided a precursor of more thrills to follow with the appearance in person and live confessions of the two spies referred to in our telegrams Nos. 535 and 536 of 16 December. As the interrogator-cum-interviewer wound up his evening's performance, he exhorted his beloved viewers to watch their goggle box for further instalments in this great saga of espionage, treachery and sabotage. Today's Baghdad Observer keeps that promise of more excitement in reporting that investigations into the case of a leading member of an imperialist-Israel espionage network have been completed. New facts in plotting and planned sabotage have been revealed. The top spy, who is said to be an Iraqi, has told all about the grave part assigned to him in sabotaging the country's national economy during the last few years. Shortly, he will appear on Television to speak on the iniquitous part he played in serving as the lackey of foreigners.

3. It is also announced that the Revolutionary Court will begin its trials of spies, traitors and corrupt elements after the Id al Fitr jollifications. In this connection the Kurdish newspaper al Nur today expresses the earnest hope that the cases to be brought before the Revolutionary Court will be restricted to espionage and sabotage inspired by imperialists and Zionists, and that any attempt to extend the powers of the Court would reduce the confidence of the people in the noble aims which have inspired the establishment of the Court. This I imagine is a sharp dig not to permit the Court to sink to the degradation of the outrageous Military and later the People's Court under Colonel Mahdawi in 1958.

4. We are also told by today's press that the Prime Minister has issued an order "impounding" the property of 86 persons who have been engaged in espionage for Israel. The list includes the names of those mentioned in our telegrams under reference and to others such as Munthir Abbas, the former legal adviser of B.O.A.C. who was arrested two months ago.

5. As for the corruption purge, the Prime Minister has also just decreed that the powers of the State's security courts are to be extended to cover all cases of bribery.

D. J. Makinson, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

Copied to RD
1/2/1

16.

10/1/68

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6. In short the sweep is on. In a letter to the C.O.I. which will go in this bag (copied to you) I have asked for a number of films for Iraqi Television. If we are to return to the days of 1958 I know from bitter personal experience in monitoring the Mahdawi Court proceedings that no other form of Television entertainment will be necessary. Marathon trials will fill all the gaps between Fairouz, erotic terpsichorean exhibitions and Feda'i chanting of "we shall return" in the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate and the Revolutionary Command Council,

.... And resulting "magis"

*Yours ever
A. E. Saunders*

(A. E. Saunders)

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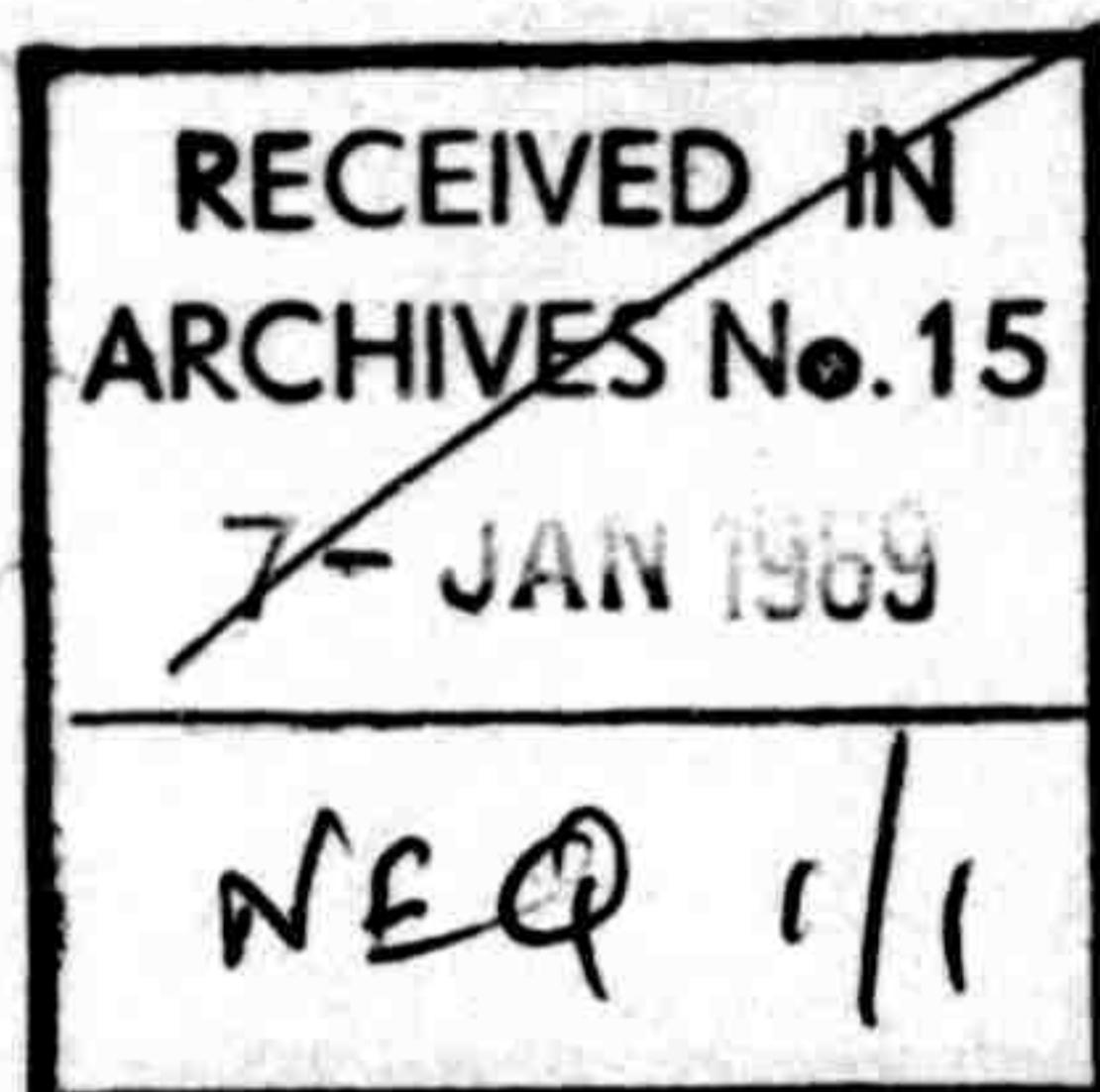


BRITISH EMBASSY,

BAGHDAD.

(32)

(1/3)



23 December, 1968.

① ~~Mr. Arthur~~ 6
② ~~Mr. Mathison~~ 11
a. ~~copy~~
John B. Enier
R.E. 4/1.

My dear Tony,

I mentioned in my telegram number 540 of 16 December that Takriti was down with a slight heart attack. According to a source who saw him on 19 December, the trouble was nothing more serious than indigestion. Our informant found him however depressed and frustrated. In these circumstances the continuing talk of action by Takriti against Ammash is not entirely surprising.

2. As regards Ammash, I mentioned in paragraph 3 of my telegram number 533 that my French colleague had seen him and had been considerably impressed. He said that the following points emerged from the interview:

(i) Ammash had been outspokenly anti-Communist and even anti-Russian and had said that the Russians should not imagine that because they supplied Iraq with arms that the Iraqi Government were at their beck and call.

(ii) He admitted that the Ba'ath Party was small but the aim was to give it a broad popular base and to gain the support of the masses.

(iii) Valuable contracts with foreign firms would no longer be the gift of individuals but had to be approved by the Party. (It is not clear why this subject came up but it may be that it was in connection with the ERAP concession.) In any case it fits in with what Takriti's man told the Marconi representative in connection with their contract.)

(iv) Ammash was very anti-American but not anti-British.

(v) The French Ambassador had complained about the arrest of eleven Iraqi employees of a French Company engaged on irrigation work in the Mosul area. Ammash had agreed to look into the matter and had been as good as his word - ten of them were released the following day.

*The relative bit
made it clear that
a contribution
was required for
party funds.*

A. R. Moore, Esq., C.M.G.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

My Belgian

*Re. B.Y. 10/1 sent 8/1
copy to oil & comm. Dept.*

Copied to I.R.D.

RD

Mr. Mathison a.m.

CONFIDENTIAL *for 10/1*

137/1



3. My Belgian colleague also saw Ammash recently, ostensibly to thank him for allowing the American teachers to return. Ammash had made it clear that Americans were not popular in this country and had added that if the Israelis repeated their attack on Iraqi forces, the safety of Americans in Iraq might be in doubt. Efforts by the Belgian to clarify the latter statement in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs caused, as you can imagine, something of a storm.

*_____

(T. E. Evans)*

(1/10)



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

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9 JAN 1969

NEQ 1/1

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Baghdad Despatch of the 1st January 1969

SUMMARY

1. The coups d'état of the 17th and 30th of July brought the moderate wing of the Ba'ath Party to power. Although the Party is divided and has not succeeded in gaining the support of other political groups, its members have acquired key positions in the administration and the Armed Forces.

(Paragraphs 1 - 4)

2. Certain of the Ba'ath's policies on internal matters, agriculture for example, are sensible. Their proclaimed Kurdish policy is relatively enlightened, but they have not won the confidence of the mass of the Kurds, and in particular of Barzani, whose distrust has been increased by the Government's support of Talabani. The Kurds have not taken advantage of the apparent broad-mindedness (and present weakness) of the Baghdad Government. (Paragraph 5)

3. The Ba'ath have tried with some success to improve relations with neighbouring countries. If the situation deteriorates in Jordan or the Persian Gulf they can be expected to fish in troubled waters. The mass of Arab Iraqis have become more emotionally involved in the Palestine question and support the Fedayeen and the presence of Iraqi troops in Jordan. There is no sign of any readiness to resume relations with the United States. (Paragraphs 6 - 8)

4. It is not yet clear whether the present régime are interested in a genuine settlement with the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) or wish merely to extract as much cash as possible from them. (Paragraph 9)

5. Since the resumption of diplomatic relations there has been satisfactory progress in the normalisation of Anglo/Iraqi relations, due in large part to the support given by Her Majesty's Government to Arab causes in the United Nations. In return for our understanding and, where possible, help in their problems, we should make it clear that we look for a quid pro quo. (Paragraphs 10 - 12)

6. The present régime does not offer much hope of providing the stability which Iraq needs, but may hold out longer than could be reasonably expected. It deserves a measure of our support: we should certainly not relax our effort in Iraq, where régimes come and go but our interests continue.

(Paragraph 13)

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BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

1/10

1 January, 1969

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Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a chronological list of the principal events that occurred in Iraq in 1968.

2. The year was marked by a coup d'état which took place in two stages and replaced personal or group rule by that of a Party, the Ba'ath Socialist Party. Unfortunately, Iraq's search for stability is not at an end. In this country plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

3. The Ba'ath in Iraq is not only a minority party, but is also a divided party. The group that took part in the overthrow of the Aref régime is the so-called moderate wing of the Party. It seemed at the time encouraging that its leaders, apparently in order to avoid the mistakes and excesses of the Ba'ath's 1963 administration, sought the cooperation of like-minded groups both nationalist and leftist, including the Communists. These efforts failed. As the Economist put it in a recent article, the Left in Iraq seems determined to destroy itself. Unfortunately, the Right too is in no better posture. Both have failed to produce a national figure - a second Nuri, either to the Right or to the Left, capable of ruling this difficult country for any length of time. The

/inevitable

The Right Honourable
Michael Stewart, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,

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inevitable conclusion is that good, or even stable, government is simply beyond the reach of Iraq, as it is indeed of most other Arab countries. This is not really surprising - Iraq is an under-developed country and that to a large extent is why it remains under-developed. We should not take this too tragically. Business can still be done here in spite of the difficulties and frustrations.

4. The promise of the new régime has unfortunately not been fulfilled. The year ended with the spectre of the all too familiar political (or spy) trial and also with changes in the Military High Command, involving the replacement of the non-political Chief of Staff by a Party man promoted for the purpose. These developments had been preceded by a period of considerable tension when arrests were frequent and even political murders, including that of a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, were not unknown. The influence of the "party men", to some extent typified by General Ammash, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, increased, and that of the less ideologically minded, in particular General Hardan Takriti, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, declined. The latter seems to have decided to play in with the Party, at least for the time being. (Whether his position would have been stronger had he been able to secure the agreement of IPC to increased royalties is a moot question.) Efforts of the Ba'ath to infiltrate their supporters into key positions in the

/administration

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administration and in the Armed Forces, which, whether they realised it or not, conflicted with their proclaimed plan to secure the cooperation of national and left wing groups and inevitably increased the influence and power of the security machine and of the secret police, were largely successful. As a result, the Ba'ath lost what little popular support it had and the broad political base to which it aspires continues to elude it.

5. The régime has, however, a positive side. In internal affairs, its efforts to deal with the problem of the countryside (decline of agriculture, largely due to half-baked agrarian reform measures, salinisation of the land and poor rural communications) are laudable and deserve all support. British Consultants, particularly the firm of Sir Murdoch Macdonald & Partners, continue to make a valuable contribution in this field. The Government's proclaimed Kurdish policy too, is enlightened, at least by comparison. The Turks and the Iranians, who claim that the Kurds in their countries are really Turks and Iranians who merely speak Kurdish, repress them with varying degrees of severity. The Iranians at least have the excuse that the Kurdish and Persian languages have a common Aryan origin and, perforce, they have to exercise some restraint owing to the support which recalcitrant Iranian Kurds receive from their brethren in Iraqi Kurdistan, not to mention the Government in Baghdad. The Ba'ath, on the other hand, freely recognise the Kurdish national identity in

/accordance

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accordance with the Manifesto agreed in 1966 by the former Prime Minister, Bazzaz, (a University professor now about to face trial on a charge of spying for Israel!) and are prepared to accord autonomy to the Kurdish minority within the framework of the Iraqi State. Unfortunately, they have not succeeded in gaining the confidence of the mass of the Kurds and in particular of their leader, Mulla Mustafa Barzani. The distrust which the feudal and ageing Barzani feels for the Ba'ath was naturally increased by the support given by the Government to Jalal Talabani, with whom they ideologically had more in common. It is also unfortunate, but not surprising, in view of their character, that the Kurds have not taken advantage of the apparent broad-mindedness (and present weakness) of the Baghdad Government.

6. In foreign affairs, the Ba'ath deserve some credit. Efforts have been made to improve relations with their immediate neighbours. With Turkey and Kuwait this has not proved difficult. Whether General Takriti's recent visit to Tehran will bear fruit remains to be seen - it would undoubtedly be to the advantage of both countries. With Syria, where the extremist wing of the Ba'ath was (or still is?) in control, it has not been so easy, although there has apparently been some improvement since Za'ayen and Makhos have been pushed into the background. As regards Jordan, General Takriti was able to gain a measure of King Hussein's confidence and the probability

/is

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is that the Ba'ath, or at least General Takriti and his supporters, recognise the value of Jordan as a buffer state between Iraq and Israel, at any rate in present circumstances. But should King Hussein's position deteriorate, the Ba'ath, if it is still in power, can be expected to fish in troubled waters. The same is true, I fear, in the case of Kuwait and of the Persian Gulf States.

7. On the other hand, it is unfortunately the case that Iraq, and by Iraq I mean not only the present Ba'athist Government but also the mass of the Arabic speaking population (Shia as well as Suni - the Kurds are sui generis) has become increasingly involved in the Palestine drama. The Iraqis have of course never recognised the Armistice arrangements of 1949. Not being limitrophe with Israel, they could permit themselves this luxury. But there seems to be no doubt that during the past few years, particularly perhaps since the 1967 war and the emergence of the Palestine guerrillas, the Iraqis have become more emotionally involved. Nevertheless, they realise their military weakness - Kurdistan is a running sore and recurring political changes have played havoc with Command structures and training programmes - and are likely to avoid major commitments. They will continue to support the Palestine guerrillas and will maintain and even increase their forces in Jordan. They will live dangerously but are unlikely, at least until their forces are released from Kurdistan and until the potential Iranian threat in the Persian

/Gulf

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Gulf is disproved, to provoke the Israelis beyond the margin of safety.

8. Unfortunately, there are, as might be expected, no signs of any readiness on the part of the Ba'ath to re-establish diplomatic relations with the United States.

9. As regards their oil policy, it remains to be seen whether the present Ba'ath rulers are interested in a genuine settlement with the IPC involving give and take, or are bent merely on extracting the maximum of additional cash from the Company. They probably realise that they cannot do without the IPC and the present royalties of approximately £200 million a year which the Company provides (they need even more to meet the cost of their second development programme). Much as they would no doubt like the National Oil Company to take over, they realise it cannot be done without catastrophic loss of revenue. The Company may therefore have an opportunity, and may be justified in taking, a calculated risk. The Government may not feel themselves strong enough to make an overall settlement and a temporary one may be all that is in present circumstances possible. The negotiations due to take place later this month will show.

Is this ?
the Suez
Canal
all over again.
No - it's
Mosaddeq !

10. Diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United Kingdom were, of course, established last May, and since then satisfactory progress has been made in the normalisation of relations in general. The Iraqi Ministers of Planning and Industry and the Secretary-General of the Revolutionary Council visited the United Kingdom shortly before Christmas and a trade

/delegation

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delegation from the United Kingdom will visit Baghdad under the auspices of the Committee for Middle East Trade (COMET) early in the New Year. The British Council will shortly re-open its doors. References in the Press to British (as opposed to American or Israeli) Imperialism are exceptions rather than the rule. In fact, we are no longer Public Enemy Number 1, but, unlike Gaullist France, have not yet qualified for the title of "Friend of the Arabs".

11. There is, of course, a solid base of Anglo/Iraqi cooperation in the economic, cultural and social field. (In this we are far better placed than the French.) It was, however, the support which during the past year Her Majesty's Government gave for Arab causes in the United Nations and the fact that the Iraqis no longer bracket us with the Americans that contributed to the improvement in our relations.

12. In spite of the difficulties that beset the régime in the past two months and which unfortunately to some extent adversely affected the growing intimacy of our relations with some of the Iraqi leaders, e.g. Generals Takriti and Ammash, and indeed with Iraqis generally, we should, I have no doubt, persist in showing sympathy and understanding and, where possible, provide encouragement and help. In a recent despatch I ventured to suggest in detail how this could be done - encouragement of trade, economic and technical assistance, supply of military equipment, work of the British Council, discreet assistance in

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the settlement of oil problems, a readiness to discuss and to help with problems that are close to Iraqi hearts (Kurdistan, Persian Gulf, etc.) and last but not least, continuing support over Palestine. It occurs to me, however, that we should not hesitate to look for a quid pro quo. The Iraqis, like other Arabs, make much of the principle which they claim underlies their foreign policy and which makes their relations with the Powers a function of the latters' attitude to Arab problems, particularly Palestine. It should be made clear to them that this cuts both ways and that if they expect more understanding for their problem, they should show more for ours, e.g. Gibraltar. Perhaps they have had it too easy so far? But if there is one thing the Arab does understand, it is the bazaar technique.

13. It would be gratifying to be able to conclude with an assurance that the régime holds out some prospect of stability for this much tried country. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The Ba'ath in Iraq, as in Syria, may, however, hold out longer than it would be reasonable to expect. Much depends on developments in the Kurdish North and on the ability of the Party and its supporters in the Armed Forces to hang together. However that may be, the régime includes some elements friendly to us, is certainly not beloved of the Russians and is making a serious effort to deal with difficult problems. Furthermore, Egyptian influence is at a low ebb. On balance therefore it deserves a measure of support. But even if the viability prospects of the régime

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régime were even less good than they are, we should not relax our efforts. Régimes in Iraq come and go; our considerable interests in this country continue.

I am sending copies of this despatch to H.M. Representatives in Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Jeddah, Kuwait, Ankara, Tehran, and Washington, to the Political Resident, Persian Gulf, and the United Kingdom Mission, New York.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

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IRAQ

Calendar of Events

1968

January

- 14 Government re-shuffle
- 17 Visit of French Deputy Chief of Staff
- 23 Return of Minister of Foreign Affairs from Damascus
- 25 Arrival of the U.A.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs
- 29 Visit of North Korean Vice-President
Visit of a French parliamentary delegation

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- 22 Arrival of an International Monetary Fund delegation
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- 28 Return of a military delegation from a visit to Iran
Arrival of a Japanese oil delegation
- 29 Minister of Culture and Guidance visits Syria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and East Germany

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- 5 A Kuwaiti oil delegation arrives
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- 31 Visit of Bulgarian Agrarian Party delegation

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- 10 Announcement that I.N.O.C. is to exploit North Rumaila oilfield
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- 27 State visit of the President of Turkey

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May

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Visit of Mrs. M. McKay, M.P.

6 Amendment to Interim Constitution announced:
postponement of parliamentary elections for two
years and establishment of Legislative Assembly
Visit of the Jordanian Prime Minister
Visit of the Iranian Minister of Justice
Arrival of H.M. Embassy's advance party

10 Visit of the Libyan Prime Minister

11 to 19 Eight day Soviet naval visit

23 The Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform visits
the Soviet Union

27 Arrival of H.M. Ambassador and Mrs. Evans
Departure of Iraqi Ambassador designate to London

30 H.M. Ambassador presents his Letters of Credence
Iraq and Argentine agreed to establish diplomatic
relations
Minister of Industry visits the Soviet Union, Hungary
and Bulgaria

June

10 I.P.C. pay Iraq extra £10 million

15 Visit of the Amir of Kuwait

18 Visit of the Prime Minister of Yemen

23 Resignation of the Minister of Municipalities and Works
and of the Minister of Northern Affairs, both Kurds
Prime Minister visits Iran

/July



July

2 Visit of the President of the People's Republic of South Yemen

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18 New Government announced
Confiscation of the property of 26 leading personalities

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3 Government policy statement

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New Interim Constitution announced

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- 23 State visit of Polish President
- 26 First oil well drilled by E.R.A.P. in Basra area
Visit of Commander of the French Forces in the Indian Ocean
- 28 The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior tour Libya, Algeria and the U.A.R.

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- 5 Dr. Sadoun Hamadi appointed Chairman of I.N.O.C.
- 10 Dr. Nasr al Hani, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, murdered
- 14 Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior announced a campaign to collect I.D. 1 million for Palestine commando organisations
- 22 Return of Chief of General Staff from a visit to Turkey
- 25 Visit of an Indian Parliamentary delegation
- 28 Visit of the Jordanian Minister of Foreign Affairs

December

- 4 Israel air attack on Iraqi contingent in Jordan
- 5 Minister of Culture and Information visits the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East Germany

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and the Minister of Foreign Affairs visit Iran



December

- 6 Ministers of Planning and Industry visit France and U.K.
- 13 Establishment of a Revolutionary Court. Confession of two Iraqi spies implicating over 80 people
- 16 Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence visits Jordan
- 28 Chief of General Staff and 4 other senior officers replaced.

Ephemeral

Reference.....

See see Mr. Evans despatch
1/10 of 1 January in which he
reviews events in Iraq during 1968.

2. I recommend that this despatch
be printed and given FO/CO/WHI
distribution. I see no need either
for printing or submission.
A copy for the frontier (suitable
prepared) is below. Have
checked it in advance of
printing you may wish to
show this despatch to either
Mr. Trotter ^{and} or Mr. Roberts.

There are two copies below for this
purpose.

3. After you have taken action
suggest the despatch be circulated
in N. Eastern Dept and then
shown to Foreign Dept & Commodities
& Oil Dept.

4. I have checked that this dispatch
does not exceed 3000 words.

M. Beaman

I agree. I have sent copy
for printing, marked one up
Himself Mr. Tripp & sent the
kind to Mr. Miers for the
Minister of State.

~~1000. $\frac{12}{2}$~~

Mr. Hinchcliffe to see ~~PMH/112~~

Then circulate in NE Dept

Then Arabian Dept 10/15 ~~10/13~~

Comm. & Oil Dept to see

~~Ag.~~ Please enclose circulation as above.

PMH/112

Mr. Knicholls.

Points in this despatch which perhaps might be clarified strike me as:

para 7, last sentence. Does this imply that, given a Kurdish settlement etc the Iraqi might seriously take some offensive action against Israel? In view of the inevitable defeat the Iraqi forces would suffer it seems most unlikely to me.

para 12, second sentence "continuing support over Palestine." This strikes me as an infelicitous phrase, unless the previous despatch to which ref. is made clarifies the words. I can imagine Iraqi forces coinciding in the same over Palestine, or that we would express sympathy for this, which conflict with Resolution 242 (67).

I am also surprised that there is no comment about the extent to which domestic political factors influence troop dispositions, though perhaps it

is difficult to be precise about
this.

Notably
20/2.

~~On Friday 25/3~~

Ten points as valid as. Pow 7 last sentence will never be tested on this region (not because the next few regions) as unlikely to solve the problem of Kurdistan!

Pow 12 second sentence is hardly phrased. I think what H.M.A. means is that he ~~should~~ should try to understand the Iraqi attitude to Palestine - not reject it.

P.M. Haniff

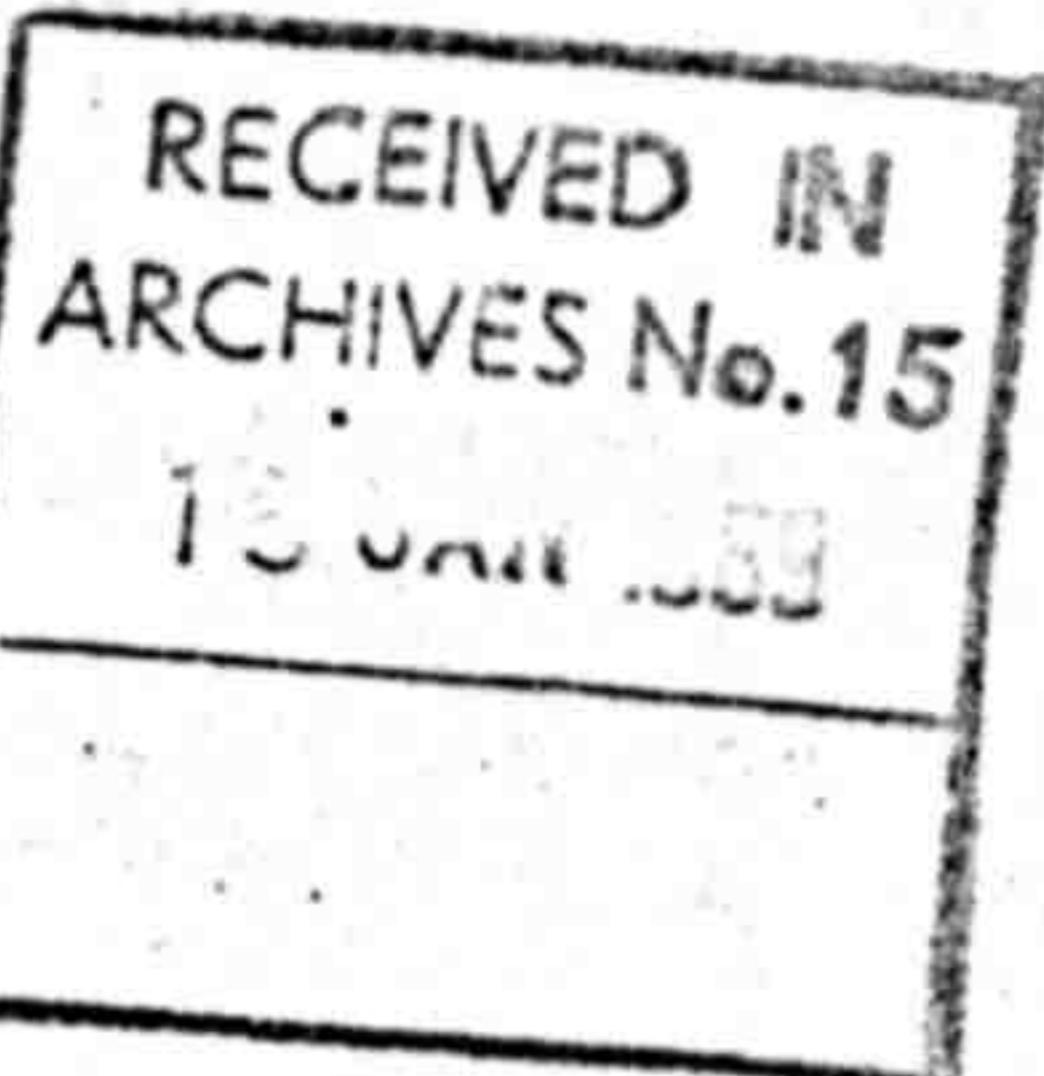
25/3.

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ON NEQ 1/1



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British Embassy,

BAGHDAD.

Mr. ~~MacKearney~~ (NED)
Mr. ~~Day~~ 1/1

28 December, 1968.

MP/1

(2/2)

Dear Alec,

Mr. MacKearney. R.E. 1/1.

Iraq and the Fedayeen

In his despatch 10/17 of 25 October about the Fedayeen Philip Adams asked for the views of other posts on the extent of support for the Fedayeen's activities.

2. Probably the most important assistance given to the Fedayeen by Iraq is the supply of arms, ammunition and stores channelled through the Iraqi forces in Jordan. So far as we know, the Iraqis have not acknowledged publicly that this is being done and we have no information on the scale of it. The Foreign Minister told the Czech Ambassador in October however that Iraq would give maximum support to Arab guerillas, and this tends to confirm Amman's belief that Iraqi assistance in this field is considerable (paragraph 14 of Adams's despatch 10/17 of 26 September).

3. As in other Arab countries, money is collected in Iraq to finance the Fedayeen. Early in October the Council of Ministers re-established the Higher Committee for the collection of contributions for the Fedayeen, and news items on the subject appear frequently in the press. A typical one is that the Palestine Liberation Movement Fatah has been given Iraqi Dinars 4,000 as their share of the total collected from officials in the Governorate of Baghdad for the winter aid campaign, and that the (future) annual contribution from this source is estimated at I.D. 20,000. We cannot say what the total of such "voluntary" contributions is likely to be, but again it must be considerable.

4. The press of course, and probably a majority of public opinion, supports the activities of the Fedayeen and justifies them by reference to the success achieved by the Algerians and the Viet Cong. Terrorism is praised as a legitimate weapon of a people whose country has been occupied and every new exploit is a source of pride. No account is taken of the dangers of violent Israeli reaction for no other course seems to them to offer any hope of justice for the Palestinians or of recovering the honour which the Arabs lost in June 1967.

Yours ever,

Philip McKeary
(P. McKeary)

A. J. D. Stirling, Esq.,
Arabian Department,
F.C.O.

c.c. AMMAN, JEDDA, KUWAIT, WASHINGTON, BEIRUT, CAIRO, TEL AVIV,
UKMIS NEW YORK, RESIDENCY BAHRAIN, CONSUL GENERAL JERUSALEM,
Commander BFNE CYPRUS

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(23766)

IRAQ

9 January, 1969

Section 1

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NOT FOR CIRCULATION

IRAQ: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1968

Mr. Evans to Mr. Stewart. (Received 9 January)

SUMMARY

1. The *coups d'état* of the 17th and the 30th of July brought the moderate wing of the Ba'ath Party to power. Although the party is divided and has not succeeded in gaining the support of other political groups, its members have acquired key positions in the Administration and the armed forces. (Paragraphs 1-4.)

2. Certain of the Ba'ath's policies on internal matters, agriculture for example, are sensible. Their proclaimed Kurdish policy is relatively enlightened, but they have not won the confidence of the mass of the Kurds, and in particular of Barzani, whose distrust has been increased by the Government's support of Talabani. The Kurds have not taken advantage of the apparent broad-mindedness (and present weakness) of the Baghdad Government. (Paragraph 5.)

3. The Ba'ath have tried with some success to improve relations with neighbouring countries. If the situation deteriorates in Jordan or the Persian Gulf they can be expected to fish in troubled waters. The mass of Arab Iraqis have become more emotionally involved in the Palestine question and support the Fedayeen and the presence of Iraqi troops in Jordan. There is no sign of any readiness to resume relations with the United States. (Paragraphs 6-8.)

4. It is not yet clear whether the present régime are interested in a genuine settlement with the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) or wish merely to extract as much cash as possible from them. (Paragraph 9.)

5. Since the resumption of diplomatic relations there has been satisfactory progress in the normalisation of Anglo/Iraqi relations, due in large part to the support given by Her Majesty's Government to Arab causes in the United Nations. In return for our understanding and, where possible, help in their problems, we should make it clear that we look for a *quid pro quo*. (Paragraphs 10-12.)

6. The present régime does not offer much hope of providing the stability which Iraq needs, but may hold out longer than could be reasonably expected. It deserves a measure of our support: we should certainly not relax our effort in Iraq, where régimes come and go but our interests continue. (Paragraph 13.)

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(Confidential) *Baghdad,
1 January, 1969.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith a chronological list of the principal events that occurred in Iraq in 1968.

2. The year was marked by a *coup d'état* which took place in two stages and replaced personal or group rule by that of a party, the Ba'ath Socialist Party. Unfortunately, Iraq's search for stability is not at an end. In this country *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

3. The Ba'ath in Iraq is not only a minority party, but is also a divided party. The group that took part in the overthrow of the Aref régime is the so-called moderate wing of the party. It seemed at the time encouraging that its leaders, apparently in order to avoid the mistakes and excesses of the Ba'ath's 1963 Administration, sought the co-operation of like-minded groups both Nationalist and Leftist, including the Communists. These efforts failed. As *The Economist* put it in a recent article, the Left in Iraq seems determined to destroy itself. Unfortunately, the Right too is in no better posture. Both have failed to produce a national figure—a second Nuri, either to the Right or to the Left, capable of ruling this difficult country for any length of time. The inevitable conclusion is that good, or even stable, government is simply beyond the reach of Iraq, as it is indeed of most other Arab countries. This is not really surprising—Iraq is an under-developed country and that to a large extent is why it remains under-developed. We should not take this too tragically. Business can still be done here in spite of the difficulties and frustrations.

4. The promise of the new régime has unfortunately not been fulfilled. The year ended with the spectre of the all too familiar political (or spy) trial and also with changes in the Military High Command, involving the replacement of the non-political Chief of Staff by a party man promoted for the purpose. These developments had been preceded by a period of considerable tension when arrests were frequent and even political murders, including that of a former Minister for Foreign Affairs, were not

unknown. The influence of the "party men", to some extent typified by General Ammash, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, increased, and that of the less ideologically minded, in particular General Hardan Takriti, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence, declined. The latter seems to have decided to play in with the party, at least for the time being. (Whether his position would have been stronger had he been able to secure the agreement of IPC to increased royalties is a moot question.) Efforts of the Ba'ath to infiltrate their supporters into key positions in the Administration and in the armed forces, which, whether they realised it or not, conflicted with their proclaimed plan to secure the co-operation of national and Left-wing groups and inevitably increased the influence and power of the security machine and of the secret police, were largely successful. As a result, the Ba'ath lost what little popular support it had and the broad political base to which it aspires continues to elude it.

5. The régime has, however, a positive side. In internal affairs, its efforts to deal with the problem of the countryside (decline of agriculture, largely due to half-baked agrarian reform measures, salinisation of the land and poor rural communications) are laudable and deserve all support. British consultants, particularly the firm of Sir Murdoch Macdonald & Partners, continue to make a valuable contribution in this field. The Government's proclaimed Kurdish policy, too, is enlightened, at least by comparison. The Turks and the Iranians, who claim that the Kurds in their countries are really Turks and Iranians who merely speak Kurdish, repress them with varying degrees of severity. The Iranians at least have the excuse that the Kurdish and Persian languages have a common Aryan origin and, perforce, they have to exercise some restraint owing to the support which recalcitrant Iranian Kurds receive from their brethren in Iraqi Kurdistan, not to mention the Government in Baghdad. The Ba'ath, on the other hand, freely recognise the Kurdish national identity in accordance with the Manifesto agreed in 1966 by the former Prime Minister, Bazzaz

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(a university professor now about to face trial on a charge of spying for Israel!) and are prepared to accord autonomy to the Kurdish minority within the framework of the Iraqi State. Unfortunately, they have not succeeded in gaining the confidence of the mass of the Kurds and in particular of their leader, Mulla Mustafa Barzani. The distrust which the feudal and ageing Barzani feels for the Ba'ath was naturally increased by the support given by the Government to Jalal Talabani, with whom they ideologically had more in common. It is also unfortunate, but not surprising, in view of their character, that the Kurds have not taken advantage of the apparent broad-mindedness (and present weakness) of the Baghdad Government.

6. In foreign affairs, the Ba'ath deserve some credit. Efforts have been made to improve relations with their immediate neighbours. With Turkey and Kuwait this has not proved difficult. Whether General Takriti's recent visit to Tehran will bear fruit remains to be seen—it would undoubtedly be to the advantage of both countries. With Syria, where the extremist wing of the Ba'ath was (or still is?) in control, it has not been so easy, although there has apparently been some improvement since Za'ayen and Makhos have been pushed into the background. As regards Jordan, General Takriti was able to gain a measure of King Hussein's confidence and the probability is that the Ba'ath, or at least General Takriti and his supporters, recognise the value of Jordan as a buffer State between Iraq and Israel, at any rate in present circumstances. But should King Hussein's position deteriorate, the Ba'ath, if it is still in power, can be expected to fish in troubled waters. The same is true, I fear, in the case of Kuwait and of the Persian Gulf States.

7. On the other hand, it is unfortunately the case that Iraq, and by Iraq I mean not only the present Ba'athist Government but also the mass of the Arabic-speaking population (Shia as well as Sunni—the Kurds are *sui generis*) has become increasingly involved in the Palestine drama. The Iraqis have of course never recognised the Armistice arrangements of 1949. Not being

limrophe with Israel, they could permit themselves this luxury. But there seems to be no doubt that during the past few years, particularly perhaps since the 1967 war and the emergence of the Palestine guerillas, the Iraqis have become more emotionally involved. Nevertheless, they realise their military weakness—Kurdistan is a running sore and recurring political changes have played havoc with Command structures and training programmes—and are likely to avoid major commitments. They will continue to support the Palestine guerillas and will maintain and even increase their forces in Jordan. They will live dangerously but are unlikely, at least until their forces are released from Kurdistan and until the potential Iranian threat in the Persian Gulf is disproved, to provoke the Israelis beyond the margin of safety.

8. Unfortunately, there are, as might be expected, no signs of any readiness on the part of the Ba'ath to re-establish diplomatic relations with the United States.

9. As regards their oil policy, it remains to be seen whether the present Ba'ath rulers are interested in a genuine settlement with the IPC involving give and take, or are bent merely on extracting the maximum of additional cash from the Company. They probably realise that they cannot do without the IPC and the present royalties of approximately £200 million a year which the Company provides (they need even more to meet the cost of their second development programme). Much as they would no doubt like the National Oil Company to take over, they realise it cannot be done without catastrophic loss of revenue. The Company may therefore have an opportunity, and may be justified in taking, a calculated risk. The Government may not feel themselves strong enough to make an overall settlement and a temporary one may be all that is in present circumstances possible. The negotiations due to take place later this month will show.

10. Diplomatic relations between Iraq and the United Kingdom were, of course, established last May, and since then satisfactory progress has been made in the normalisation of relations in general. The

Iraqi Ministers of Planning and Industry and the Secretary-General of the Revolutionary Council visited the United Kingdom shortly before Christmas and a trade delegation from the United Kingdom will visit Baghdad under the auspices of the Committee for Middle East Trade (COMET) early in the new year. The British Council will shortly reopen its doors. References in the Press to British (as opposed to American or Israeli) Imperialism are exceptions rather than the rule. In fact, we are no longer Public Enemy Number 1, but, unlike Gaullist France, have not yet qualified for the title of "Friend of the Arabs".

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I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives in Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Jeddah, Kuwait, Ankara, Tehran and Washington, to the Political Resident, Persian Gulf, and the United Kingdom Mission, New York.

I have, &c.

T. E. EVANS.

Enclosure

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ID1,000,000 for Palestine commando
organisations.
22 Return of Chief of General Staff from a visit
to Turkey.

November

25 Visit of an Indian Parliamentary delegation.
28 Visit of the Jordanian Minister of Foreign
Affairs.

December

4 Israel air attack on Iraqi contingent in
Jordan.
5 Minister of Culture and Information visits
the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East
Germany.
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of
Defence and the Minister of Foreign
Affairs visit Iran.
6 Ministers of Planning and Industry visit
France and United Kingdom.
13 Establishment of a Revolutionary Court.
Confession of two Iraqi spies implicating over
80 people.
16 Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of
Defence visits Jordan.
28 Chief of General Staff and four other
senior officers replaced.

Summary of
Extract ~~of~~ World Broadcasts.

NEG 1/1.

7 Jan 1969.

ME/2967/A/1

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAEL

Opening of Baghdad Spy Trial

Baghdad home service in Arabic 17.00 GMT 4.1.69

Excerpts from report:

The trial of 19 defendants accused of espionage for the Zionist enemy began at 16.00 tonight. The Court met in the People's Hall under the presidency of Col. Ali Hadi. The public prosecution is represented by Maj. Raghib Fakhri. The defendants are: Izra Naji Zilkha, Albert Habib Tumas, Sadiq Jafar al-Hawi, Jamal Sabih al-Hakim, Fu'ad Qabbab, Abd al-Hadi al-Bachchari, Ya'qub Burji Namirdi, Salih Sutaym, Hazkiel Zion Zilkha, Jamil Hajj Musa, Mahdi Muhammad Ubayd, Elyahu Ilyas Salih Burji Da'ud, Abd ar-Razzaq Abd al-Husayn al-Jarrah, Muhsin Madi, Salim Hasan Fahd, Nizar Baqir (?as-Suruj), and Safa Hayim. Two defendants are being tried in their absence...

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christian

? and Salih Haskill

The public prosecutor read the indictment reviewing the activities of each defendant involved in the espionage case under trial. He cited evidence and events proving their contact with the Zionist enemy. The prosecution asked for death by hanging for a number of defendants and for the maximum penalty for others. He also cited provisions of the law applicable to their crimes. The prosecution then asked for the trials to be held in camera, since the case involved the security of the State and the Armed Forces. The Court adjourned for 15 minutes to consider the prosecution's request, which was later granted... The Court will resume its sitting tomorrow in camera...

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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An interesting letter

My dear Tom, ① Mr. Arthur [redacted] 11 January 11, 1969.
Exter. ② Mr. Makinson — is quite [redacted] 18
③ Arabian Dept. possible action
Conversation with Brigadier under (iii).
Kadhim Abadi

R.E. 16/1.

You will remember that I wrote in my letter 10/3 of 9 November, 1968 reporting a conversation with Brigadier Abadi. I had a long talk with him again this week which was rather remarkable, considering his background as a former Royalist officer. He made the following points:

(i) Lightnings

Approval had now been given by both the Central Committee of the Ba'ath Party and the Council of Ministers for the purchase of Lightnings. Moreover Tikriti had secured the agreement of the Saudi government to obtain early delivery by diverting to Iraq aircraft originally ordered for Saudi Arabia. The way was now clear, therefore, for a deal but the government were short of money (see (ii) below). However the Iraqis were still keeping a line open to the Russians in case they wished to purchase MiGs 23. He asked that Ian Brown of BAC should be informed (see our telegram STOW 2 of 10 January).

(ii) Trade between the U.K. and Iraq

The present Ba'athi government were extremely keen to do trade with the United Kingdom on a grand scale. They were quite sincere in this and attached great importance to the forthcoming COMET Mission. It was a great opportunity for the U.K. as there was no other country in a comparable position.

The Iraqis were now indebted to the tune of ID 120 million (I am not quite sure what he meant by this; probably that the payments of this order had already been made against oil income as yet unaccrued.) He anticipated that the government might wish to do

.../business

A. R. Moore, Esq., C.M.G.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



business worth some ID 200 million with us, including the Lightning deal, but they might only be able to find some ID 50 million in cash. The rest they would expect to raise on a long-term loan and the Ministers who visited the U.K. had been gratified by finding that they would be able to borrow money at 5 $\frac{1}{2}\%$. He anticipated that the Iraq government would reach a number of tentative agreements with the COMET Mission and then at the last moment would say that they required finance and that the agreements were conditional on this finance being forthcoming. The U.K. should however take this opportunity. The Iraqis were always good payers.

(iii) Image of the Ba'ath Party

Ministers were very concerned about the image of the Ba'ath Party. They were people who longed to be loved and were upset about recent press reports. He hoped that it would be possible for a responsible correspondent, possibly from The Times, to visit Iraq to talk to Ministers and obtain first hand impressions. A fair article written after such a visit could do a great deal of good. When I said that the government's principal difficulty seemed to be the "confidence gap" because their policies appeared reasonable but were not widely accepted by the people, he replied that the civilian part of the Ba'ath government was comparatively well ensconced but the military and security side was not yet firmly in the saddle.

(iv) Advice

The Ba'ath Party were pathetically looking for advice and encouragement and if we could give this in a discreet way over economic affairs it would be to the mutual advantage. I said that if anyone were to approach me informally about such advice I would naturally be willing to respond in suitable cases, but it was up to any Iraqis who felt so inclined to make the move. He stressed that, on account of Britain's long connection with this country, we were the only people really who could perform this function.

2. This country at the moment is a bewildering canvas of light and shade. On the one hand we are having a remarkably warm reception in all the economic Ministries - indeed a reception which, before I came here I would have thought quite impossible so soon after a resumption in diplomatic relations. On the other hand, as you know from other reports, extremely unpleasant things have been happening affecting Europeans. The Belgian Ambassador was threatened with arrest over the Bail case (Baghdad telegram No. 19 of 9 January, paragraph 4), the Danish Chargé d'Affaires was bundled out of his car at gun point at

.../the



- 3 -

the International School on 7 January - both were victims of the current Anti-American witch hunt - and Bob Hamilton's garden was trespassed upon on 9 January when armed and uniformed men came in and searched the saddle bag of his gardener's bicycle and then removed him. These sorts of incidents have naturally caused considerable consternation.

3. There have also been a number of further arrests of Iraqis and many of those in the professional and commercial classes are undoubtedly frightened. Nonetheless there is no general feeling of tension in the streets at the moment - at any rate by day - and Iraqis do not appear to be as frightened as one would expect. The situation is therefore full of paradox.

4. One might have thought that this sort of atmosphere might have brought business nearly to a standstill. However this is not the case. The economic Ministries, particularly the Ministry of Industry, is humming with activity and considerable business is still being done in the Private Sector. The business climate as far as we are concerned is excellent; one hears this on all sides, though I shall be happier when we can see the effect in terms of concrete British exports. One is tempted to think that it is too good to be true and may not last, but, while it persists, we should not hesitate to do as much business as we can, preferably "over the counter". We are more privileged than a number of other countries for, we understand confidentially, that all consumer imports, durable and non durable, from Italy, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Rumania, Poland and Japan are being prevented in view of Iraq's unfavourable trade balance with these countries. Reduced quotas for capital goods are also being introduced for Italy, Denmark, Finland and Greece.

5. One who has been as long as I have in the Middle East must remain rather sceptical about the longer term but the opportunity now presented must not be neglected and our general motto should be "Carpe Diem".

Yours Ever

Very unenlightened in terms of economic theory. It is aggregate (D. F. Hawley) exports and imports which matter. In terms of aggregates, it is better to buy cheaply from one country, it can more expensively from another.

c.c. T. H. Sinclair, Esq.,
Board of Trade.

C. B. Benjamin, Esq.,
Ministry of Technology.

~~It is better to buy cheaply from one country, it can more expensively from another.~~

R.E.

If that were all the Iraqis were enlightened about, I would not mind

16/1

NEQ 1/1

S.W.B.

20/1/69

ME/2978/A/1

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAELCall-up of Reservists in Lebanon(a) Cairo home service in Arabic 21.00 GMT 17.1.69

Text of report:

The Supreme Military Authority in Lebanon has announced that it has called up reserve soldiers in view of the current circumstances.

(b) Beirut home service in Arabic 18.00 GMT 17.1.69

Text of announcement by Supreme Military Authority:

(1) In accordance with Article 154 of Legislative Decree No. 10 of 7th July 1967 supplementing Article 211 of Legislative Decree No. 33 of 19th January 1955 relating to the military reservists' cadre, the Supreme Army Command reminds all natural and corporate persons employing military reservists who have been called up by the Supreme Authority to resume their service in view of the current circumstances, that as employers they must grant such employees the necessary paid leave and reinstate them in their present or similar posts on demobilisation.

(2) In accordance with the two above articles, the Supreme Army Command reminds the persons concerned that in case the reservists are not reinstated in their former posts after their release, their employers must pay them compensation equal to at least one year's salary, or compensation in accordance with the laws in force if the value of the compensation exceeds one year's salary.

(3) The Supreme Army Command draws the attention of citizens to the fact that anyone who instigates a military reservist into defecting or who hides him will be liable to the penalties stipulated in Articles 117 and 118 of the military Penal Code.

Arab-Israeli Affairs

Lebanese denial of bazooka attack (Text) Israeli military sources this morning claimed that a bazooka missile was fired last night from Lebanese territory at an Israeli settlement in Upper Galilee. A Lebanese military spokesman has stated that this report is not true. (Beirut in Arabic 11.00 GMT 17.1.69)

Baghdad radio appeal to repentant spy (Text of first item in news bulletin, which was also repeated at end) Appeal to citizen C.B.A.: The national authority announces that it is completely willing to absolve you if you inform the responsible departments of all details of the case which you referred to in your message to the Revolution Command Council, Military Intelligence, and the General Security Department, in which you expressed your complete readiness to reveal the details of the spy ring for which you have been working for the benefit of Israel. (Baghdad in Arabic 19.30 GMT 17.1.69)

Jordan valley firing (Text of statement by Jordanian military spokesman) At exactly 21.35 today the enemy opened medium machine-gun and mortar fire on our forces in Adasiyah, in the northern Jordan valley. Our forces returned the fire. Firing continued until 22.05. Our forces suffered no casualties. (Amman in Arabic 21.04 GMT 17.1.69)

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAELBaghdad Broadcasts on the Iraqi Executions

Baghdad home service in Arabic 04.00-12.30 GMT 27.1.69

04.00 GMT: Excerpts from the Revolution Court's findings and verdicts in the cases of the Israeli espionage and sabotage network (read by announcer):

The Revolution Court's verdicts against the accused in the cases of sabotage and espionage for Israel were announced yesterday evening. The court sentenced 15 criminals to death and passed various other sentences ranging from life imprisonment with hard labour to acquittal on the remainder of the accused. The court, it is announced, will continue hearing other cases and the public will be kept informed.

The court began hearing the main case on 4th January. Nineteen people were accused of sabotage and espionage for Israel. The court then broke the [whole] case down into eight involving others accused.

The court consists of Col. Ali Hadi Wudwud as President, and Lt-Col. Ali Ihsan Shiyt and Lt-Col. Zaki Abdullah al-Ani as members. The public prosecution was represented by Maj. Raghib Fakhri. The court held both morning and evening sessions in the People's Hall....

The court sentenced Nizar Baqir as-Surayyah and Abd ar-Razzaq Abd al-Husayn al-Jarrah, to rigorous imprisonment for three years. It also sentenced Harun Salman Harun and Sa'id Zaki to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. The court released the following on bond: Muhsin Madi, Eliahu Ilyas Gurji, Mahdi Muhammad Ubayd, Jamil al-Ha; Musa, Heskel Zion Zilkha, Salih Heskel, Khudhuri Salih, and Salim Fahd. The last, however, was exempted from the bond.

The first case involves the criminals: Dawud Heskel Baruch Dallal, a 20-year-old preparatory school graduate; Heskel Salih Heskel, a 21-year-old clerk; Dawud Ghali, a 23-year-old student; and Sabah Hiyyim, a 30-year-old car spares salesman. All of them are Basrah residents.

The Premier committed them to trial before the Revolution Court by Order No. 1,437 of 25th December 1968.... The evidence given by the criminals against each other, their confessions and the evidence of Harun Salman Harun and Jamal Sabih al-Hakim has revealed that these two were invited by Izra Naji Zilkha, after the June 1967 setback, to join the Israeli espionage network. Their role was, it was proved, to blow up and sabotage vital installations and public utilities. It was also proved that they had joined the network of their own free will and that they were fully aware of its aims... The network sent them abroad for two weeks' training by Salim Battat on the use of dynamite and time bombs. They returned to Basrah after completing their training. A while later, they met [name indistinct] who provided them with sticks of dynamite to blow up the [word indistinct] bridge at Basrah. They carried this out as an exercise to test their proficiency. They received money in return for this...

The second case involves: Na'im Khudhuri Hilali, a 19-year-old Basrah University student; Harun Salman Harun, a 21-year-old student; Khudhuri Salih Heskel, a 19-year-old clerk; and Sa'id Zaki a 21-year-old university graduate. All are Basrah residents.

The Premier committed them to trial before the Revolution Court by Order No. 1, 437 of 25th December 1968... It was proved to the court that Na'im Khudhuri Hilali was asked by Izra Naji Zilkha to join an Israeli espionage organisation in Basrah Province called the "Israeli Fida'i organisation"... It was also proved to the court that the accused agreed to join the organisation, fully aware of its aims. He travelled abroad with other members of the sabotage and explosive squad and was trained with them by Salim Battat. After two weeks, he returned to Basrah where he met Izra Naji Zilkha who gave him dynamite and asked him to blow up the Maqam Bridge at Basrah for practice. He did so to prove his good training and received 160 dinars from Zilkha in return for his work. Na'im Khudhuri testified to all this in court...

The evidence of Jamal Sabih al-Hakim, Dawud Heskel Baruch and Sabah Hiyyim has shown that Na'im Khudhuri was not a member of either the Basrah Israeli espionage network or the sabotage team. The only thing against him was Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi's statement that Zilkha told him that Khudhuri was a member of the organisation. But none of the witnesses could corroborate Hawi's testimony. The accused denied all knowledge of the organisation... The court thus decided to release him on a bond of 500 dinars valid for six months provided he observes order and public security in accordance with Article 77 of the Court Procedure Laws. Should he fail to produce such a bond, he is to be imprisoned for the same period...

The third case involves Abd al-Husayn Nur Muhammad Haj Jita Bai Kawkal, a Basrah merchant... It was proved to the court that witness Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi had called on the accused upon the instructions of Izra Naji Zilkha and exchanged with him the code word used by the Israeli espionage network - Mukhlis. The accused, Abd al-Husayn Jita Bai Kawkal then asked Hawi to deliver a message to advocate Abd al-Hadi al-Bachchari. Hawi did so and received 200 dinars from Zilkha in return for his work. He continued to carry messages between the two men, five messages in all. He received 200 dinars for carrying each message. Advocate Bachchari confirmed receiving five messages through Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi from the accused, Abd al-Husayn Jita, at various intervals. The accused admitted having asked the witness, Hawi, about a message received by Zilkha for transmission to Jita. This proves beyond all doubt that the accused belonged to the Israeli espionage organisation.

In his testimony, the criminal, Jita Bai Kawkal, admitted that he entered Iraq in 1935 with the British expedition. He left in 1940, and returned after the failure of the 1941 movement with the British Army.

The court sentenced Jita to death by hanging and passed a similar sentence on the criminal, Abd al-Muhsin Jarallah, a merchant operating between Basrah and Baghdad. He is the accused in the fourth espionage case. After hearing the pleas of the public prosecution, and the testimonies of Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi, Fu'ad Kabbai and of the accused himself, and after hearing defence counsel's pleas, the court became convinced that Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi had contacted the accused at the General Directorate of Exports and Imports and asked him to guide him to Izra Naji Zilkha so he could give him a letter he had brought with him from Basrah. The witness, Hawi, and the accused, Jarallah, actually went to Sharjah Market where Hawi contacted Zilkha in the presence of the accused and handed him the message. Hawi admitted that the message came from Israeli agents in the Netherlands and that they were seeking some military information.

The accused, Jarallah, confessed in his testimony that he delivered only one message to Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi, which proves that he delivered and received messages of the espionage network. The court also learned that the accused was a partner of Fu'ad Kabbai who asked Sadiq al-Hawi to contact the accused at the Directorate General of Imports and Exports if he failed to contact Zilkha at the International Hotel in Baghdad. This is proof that the accused, Abd al-Muhsin Jarallah, was a member of the espionage network.

In the fifth case, the court sentenced Zaki Andrews Zaytu to death by hanging. The court's verdict states: It became clear that the accused was a member of the espionage ring working for Israel and headed by the so-called Izra Naji Zilkha. The accused was the confidant of Izra Naji Zilkha because he helped to transfer radio equipment from Zilkha's house to the Sabbathists' church when their activities were uncovered. Zilkha ordered the accused to transfer the equipment.

In the sixth case, the court sentenced Charles Rufa'il Hawraysh to death by hanging. The court verdict states: ...It became clear to the court that the witness Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi, had given the accused several letters addressed to him from Abd al-Husayn Jita and Mustafa Jita. Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi obtained a sum of 200 dinars from Izra Naji Zilkha for every letter he delivered to the accused. On delivering the first letter, Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi exchanged the code word "mukhlis" with accused Charles Rufa'il Hawraysh. In view of the fact that the word "mukhlis" was decided on by Izra Naji Zilkha - he being the leader of the espionage ring charged with gathering military and civil information about Iraq, ensuring its transmission to Israel and receiving instructions from outside Iraq - it became clear to the court that the accused Charles Rufa'il Hawraysh was a member of the espionage ring.

The court decided to divide the seventh case into two separate cases. The first concerned the absconded defendants Tami Habib-Tumas, Walid Muhammad and Mustafa Jita... The second case concerned the defendants Albert Habib Tumas, Izra Naji Zilkha, Fu'ad Kabbai, Jamal Sabih al-Hakim, Ya'qub Gurji Namirchi, Abd al-Hadi al-Bachchari and Sadiq Ja'far al-Hawi, all of whom the court sentenced to death by hanging. However, the court commuted the sentence of the criminal, Hawi, to life imprisonment with hard labour for assisting the investigation. This case also concerned Nazar Baqir as-Surayh and Abd Ar-Razzaq Abd al-Husayn al-Jarrah, whom the court sentenced to three years imprisonment with hard labour each...

04:00 GMT: Text of statement by the Director General of Radio and Television, Muhammad Sa'id as-Sahhaf (broadcast live or from a recording):

The spies were hanged at dawn today. The Revolution Court passed its just sentence, in the name of the people, against those tempted to link themselves to imperialism and its foster daughter, Israel, and who sold the nation's and homeland's secrets cheaply to foreigners.

Citizens, a new decisive stage begins today in the life of our people and mighty revolution. The revolution is at an historic turning point in honouring its sincere pledge to purge the domestic front of fifth columnists, agents and traitors. The revolution reaffirms today that it is facing its progressive national and domestic responsibilities. This is the first time a Government in our struggling country has resolved to uproot agents and spies and to deal firmly, irrevocably and mercilessly with the dens of treason.

Imperialism and world Zionism, who have worked for many years to cover this part of the great Arab homeland with a network of agents and lackeys, today received an extremely strong blow, which the progressive popular revolution dealt to express its relentless resolution and firm intention of smashing the positions and pillars of the counter-revolution once and for all.

Sons of our struggling people, the Revolutionary Government's battle against the espionage network linked with imperialist and Israeli departments is not a battle of the national authority alone. The masses have been influential in bringing the collapse of the rotten, traitorous cells by exposing the networks and helping to identify their members and connections. This vital contribution indicates that our masses understand their responsibilities. They also understand that they must strongly support the revolutionary forces and vanguards in order to end once and for all the influence of these groups of agents over our toiling masses.

Citizens, the execution of the Israeli and imperialist spies smashes the legend the enemy has been trying to impress on us - that no force or authority could harm the espionage networks or bring the spies to trial. The imperialists and Zionists forgot that we think exposure and severe punishment of espionage networks is part of our fierce battle against imperialism and Zionism.

They also forgot that liquidation of those cells is dictated by the reality of confronting the Israeli aggression against [us] and the occupation of our Arab territory. Liquidating the cells and confronting the aggression are merely two positions on a single battlefield where our people face their violently hostile enemies. This is an integrated battle without a dividing line.

The 17th July revolution leadership, in continuously checking the agents and traitors, is only acting in accordance with the dictates of its national conscience and progressive plan. This plan is intended to block the gaps through which the people's enemies have been infiltrating to crush their aspirations, rob them of their gains and suck their resources.

The revolution will continue its march, regardless of the threats and obstacles in its path. The revolution is confident it is expressing the masses' ambitions and implementing their desire for a better future. The struggling masses, who saw today, for the first time, the hanging corpses of the spies - who saw this great revolutionary action - will frankly face their historic duties without shirking, but with understanding that a new era of fierce opposition to imperialism and imperialist agents - reactionary and Zionist spies - has begun with this immortal dawn in our people's immortal life.

We are confident that the revolutionary battle against the espionage networks is the battle of the people's workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and revolutionary military personnel. We will wage this battle.

Long live the 17th July revolution. Long live the socialist Arab Ba'th Party's Regional Command. Long live the Revolutionary Command Council. Glory to our great people. Shame to the spies and enemies of the people.

06.15 GMT: Review of live broadcast on Baghdad rally:

06.15: Beginning of rally in Midan Square. Workers gathered in the square. Slogans read by announcer include: "Execution of spies is a blow to new US agents and defeat to the forces of black apostasy"; "Men of the revolution pledge no spies after today"; "Execution of spies is a decisive reply to Fifth column movements".

06.25: Relay continues from Tahrir Square.

06.58: Iraqi National Student Union statement read. It stresses that fate of imperialism and agents will be similar to that of spies and lauds Revolution Command Council measure executing spies [largely indistinct].

07.22: Ba'th Party statement read by Salah Umar al-Ali (see below).

08.00: Poem lauding President Bakr.

08.07: Indistinct speech.

08.21: Trade Union General Federation statement lauding 17th July revolution and saying it seeks to eliminate backwardness and spy networks. It pledges the workers' support for the revolution and deplores spies and agents [largely indistinct].

08.28: Poem.

03.30: Bakr arrives "to share the masses' joy".

03.35: Bakr returns to the Republican Palace.

03.37: repeat of the Ba'th Party statement.

09.30: end of relay.

07.22 GMT: Excerpts from Ba'th Party Regional Command statement read by Salah Umar al-Ali, member of the Revolution Command Council (broadcast live):

Sons of our great people, struggling masses, this is a great day, the day of the real start on the long road of struggle. Your revolution, the revolution of the toiling masses, has dealt the spies a serious blow... This is only a small part of the great pledge given by the leaders of the 17th July revolution that no spy shall live in Iraq after today [applause]. Today, 27th January, will be a memorable day in the life of our struggling nation and of the peoples struggling for freedom from slavery and imperialism...

Masses of our people, rebels, through your determination and will the revolution will continue its march. You are the strong shield protecting the revolution against counter-attack and ensuring its freedom of movement to achieve its great aims. The revolution has been attempting since 17th July 1968 [applause] to prepare the atmosphere for progressive, national unity. The corrupt [word indistinct] who surrounded the people have begun to fall one after the other...

Strugglers, your party - the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party [applause] - which led your struggle in the darkest circumstances against corrupt regimes and enemies of the people, gives its pledge that the revolution will not lower its flags until it (?achieves) the future life it wants [applause]. Your great army in the firing line is dealing the criminal invaders heavy blows. With the determination of strugglers and the will of rebels, your revolution is inflicting [words indistinct] agents of Zionism and imperialism... The revolution has not hanged these traitors out of personal hatred or spite, but with a clear, revolutionary outlook that the revolution cannot continue unless it liquidates the pockets of reaction and treason and unless it unites the ranks of the people [applause].

Comrades, strugglers of our great people, the revolution will be loyal to its slogans to achieve firm national unity and fulfil the people's aims of unity, freedom and socialism [applause]... Sons of our great people, sons of our good, patient and struggling people, you are called on to bear all your responsibilities in defending the revolution and in constructively co-operating with it. Our masses have an interest in the 17th July revolution [applause]... We give our pledge not to be indifferent in fighting imperialism, Zionism and espionage networks. Victory to the toiling masses, and death to all traitors, spies and agents...

11.00 GMT: Excerpts from report on display of corpses:

The sentences of death by hanging until dead (Arabic: shangan hatta al-mawt) were carried out at an early hour this morning on fourteen persons convicted by the Revolution Court of spying and carrying out acts of subversion for the benefit of Israel. [Passage giving their names.] The citizens hastened to Tahrir Square where the corpses of 11 spies were hanging (Arabic: allaq) each one bearing a placard with the name of the criminal, his profession and his religion. In Basrah the corpses of three more were hanging. They were Abd al-Husayn Nur Jit, Jamal Sadiq al-Hakim, and Izra Naji Zilkha. Only moments after the hanging of the first body Tahrir Square was crowded with thousands of citizens overwhelmed with joy [words indistinct].

11.00 GMT: Excerpts from report of press conference held by Abdullah Sallum as-Samarra'i, Minister of Culture and Information:

Baghdad - The Minister of Culture and Information, Abdullah Sallum as-Samarra'i, held a press conference last night in the radio and television building. It was attended by the chief editors of the Iraqi press, the news agency, and radio and television. The Minister, discussing the spy trials before the Revolution Court said these trials are a frank confrontation of the counter-revolution representing imperialism, Zionism and reaction...

Replying to a question, the Minister said: Reaction to the verdicts of the Revolution Court is expected to take two forms - positive and negative. The people's reaction will be on the side of the Government. The people will once again express their support and loyalty for the revolution, which promised to try and punish the spies and which honoured its promise. Thus the reaction of the people, who suffered much at the hands of espionage rings, will be positive. It will affirm that the people will accept their responsibilities and that they will take part in the battle on the side of the Revolution Government.

The reaction of counter-revolutionary forces will naturally be negative and will incite imperialism to use all the methods at its disposal to defame the revolution and conspire against the revolution and its attitudes. This will confirm that our attitude is sound and it will prove that we are on the right course.

The Minister added: We and our armed forces are quite ready to face all consequences. He warned the enemies of the revolution that the punishment for those who attempt to harm the people's interests will be severe. He said the revolutionary departments fully accept their responsibilities. These departments will strike heavily and fiercely at those who try to obstruct the revolution.

Replying to a question by the Iraqi News Agency (INA) about the sabotage operation on Abi Nawwas Street, the Minister said: Precise information available to the Revolution Government confirms that the sabotage operation was instigated and directed by remnants of the espionage ring. The Minister referred to the confessions of the spies at the trial that one important part of their operations is that trained members of spy rings normally conduct sabotage operations whenever spies are apprehended by the authorities. The purpose is to try to influence and frighten the authorities...

Replying to another question, the Minister of Culture and Information said: There are many espionage rings. Their elements are different and their areas of operations are numerous. But the leader of these rings is one and the same. The purpose is to continue operations in case one of the espionage rings is crushed. The Minister praised the citizens' participation in exposing espionage rings. He said: Information about espionage rings is constantly being received from citizens in northern and southern Iraq. It is most pleasing to see that such reports are supported by definite evidence, including photographs. This saves the authorities much effort. The Minister added: The biased allegation that the Iraqi people are indifferent and that they do not assume responsibilities is thus ruled out.

Regarding the expected reaction by hostile information media to the verdict of the Revolution Court, the Minister said: The people understand the nature of reports circulated by Zionist and US information media. The people understand very well the suspicious aims of such reports. He added: We expect nothing but hostility from these circles...

Replying to a question on whether Iran has been contacted about the presence of Israeli agents in Abadan, as revealed by the Revolution Court, the Minister said he would like to explain an important point: No Government of a State is to be held responsible for a spy who operates on its territory. The best proof is that Israeli spies are operating in Iraq and that the revolution is fighting them. Therefore, he said, we do not hold the Iranian Government responsible in this connection. The same goes for the Lebanese Government, although the espionage ring's activities extended to Beirut.

12.30 GMT: Editorial report on messages of support:

The radio broadcast at intervals scores of telegrams to the Revolution Command Council and President Bakr in support of the spies' execution, including the following: "The execution of the spies - agents of the USA and Israel - has dealt world imperialism a deadly blow and reflects the will of the working masses. Forward, and the masses support you. (Signed) Chairman of the trade union committee at the Oil Companies office, Baghdad, Shawkat Mahniud"; "On behalf of the Radio and Television Directorate's employees and workers, we support your giant step to destroy spies and agents and to crush those opposing our white revolution. May God preserve you for the struggle; and immortality for our nation's mission. (Signed) Shakir al-Azzawi, Muhammad Jasim ad-Dulaymi and Muhammad Ra'uf ad-Dulaymi"; "God bless you, heroic President, and bless your hand for cutting off the rotten heads of agents, traitors and spies. The valiant Salah ad-Din forces, stationed along the lines of honour and dignity, which are anxious to eliminate the shame of defeat and to restore Arab honour, bless your great step. The souls of our martyrs have now been reassured by your blessed action. Victory and glory is ours. Long may you live as leader and commander. Glory and immortality to our people and nation. (Signed) Brig. Hasan Mustafa an-Naqib, Commander of the Salah ad-Din Forces".

Similar telegrams were reported from various government and public organisations: trade unions; revolutionary youth vanguards, student unions; military officers, including the Director of Military Operations, Col. Muhammad Ali Sa'id, the commander and officers of the anti-aircraft artillery school; and various establishments and individuals.

Israeli Reaction to the Iraqi Executions(a) Israel in English 11.30 GMT 27.1.69

Excerpts from report:

In Baghdad, nine Jews and six Arabs, accused of spying for Israel, were publicly hanged this morning in the central city square... In Jerusalem, the Knesset will pay special tribute to the memory of the nine Jews who were put to death. The Knesset Speaker, Kadish Luz, will address the House. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol will make a statement. Following the Prime Minister, a member of each Knesset faction will make a statement.

The Jewish Agency this morning issued a statement of deep sorrow and regret. At a meeting of the Agency Executive this morning, an appeal went out to the world to act immediately to save the Jewish community in Iraq. It is clear, the statement says, that the Iraqis maliciously misled any attempt to save the condemned men by refusing to make public the sentences, even though they were handed down in the middle of the month. The statement adds that there are other Jews imprisoned in Iraq who may have to undergo a similar show trial.

Chief Rabbi Yithaq Nisim today criticised the international silence on the Baghdad trial. The Chairman of the Association of Former Iraqi Jews in Israel, Knesset member, David Petel, when asked to comment this morning, said he was at a loss for words to express his horror at the crime perpetrated in Baghdad...

(b) Israel home service in Hebrew 12.00-18.00 GMT 27.1.69

Text of broadcasts:

12.00 GMT: 'Yedi'ot Aharonot' and 'Ma'ariv' discuss the execution of the nine Jews in Iraq... The two papers point out that the Iraqis conducted the trial like thieves in the night and murdered the sentenced men in great haste because they feared their action might meet with interference.

'Yedi'ot Aharonot' expresses anger that the world did not react to Iraq's criminal acts. The civilised world, the paper says, lost its temper when a few aircraft in Beirut were destroyed, but now the world is silent. The paper mentions the fair treatment accorded to Arab spies and marauders in Israel and wonders whether this attitude does not encourage additional crimes in the neighbouring Levantine States with their particular mentality.

'Ma'ariv' says the murder of the nine Jews in Iraq serves two aims: To humiliate and maltreat the remnants of the Jewish community in Iraq and to prepare for the coming trials of leaders of the opposition and the former regime. The paper calls on Israel to launch a campaign to prevent the further maltreatment and murder of Iraqi Jews and to denounce the murderous Iraqi regime and expose it to the condemnation of the world.

15.00 GMT (Knesset debate) The members of the Knesset and the Cabinet Ministers today commemorated the memory of the nine Jews executed in Iraq. When the Knesset session opened this afternoon, all those present stood to honour the dead, and Speaker Kadish Luz read their names.

The Premier then made a declaration on behalf of the Government. He said the executions in Baghdad were further proof, if such proof was still needed, of the similarity between the Arab regimes and the Nazi regime. Here too there was a plan to destroy the Jews and only Israel was hindering its implementation. We know, the Premier said, and the Iraqi Government also knew, that all the charges against the Jews who were killed were complete fabrications and that their only crime was being Jews. The persecution of Jews in the Arab countries has been going on for years without arousing the conscience of the world, the Premier said. When the Government learned of the sentences in Iraq, it asked everyone it could to try to save the condemned men. The UN Secretary General was one of those the Government approached, but it was in vain.

The Premier added that he could not avoid the distressing conclusion that the world and the international institutions did not show the necessary courage to deal with this issue and with the general problem of the Jews in Arab countries. He demanded that further murders should be prevented and that the remaining families should be saved.

Eshkol concluded his speech by declaring: Our actions will be aimed at the strengthening of our State and at the rescue of Jewish communities in distress. Almost all Knesset members were present during Eshkol's speech and most of the Cabinet Ministers were sitting at the Government table. Chief Rabbi Nissim was present in the visitors' gallery.

18.00 GMT (Eban message to U Thant) The Foreign Minister Abba Eban this evening sent the UN Secretary General U Thant a cable expressing shock and grief over the execution of nine Jews in Iraq. The Minister asked the Secretary General to circulate the cable among the members of the UN Security Council.

(c) Israel in English 10.45 GMT 27.1.69

Text of report:

In Baghdad central square, which is called Freedom Square, Iraqis this morning witnessed a gruesome spectacle. During the night 15 gallows had been set up in Baghdad and in Basrah and this morning 15 bodies were hanging from them. Nine of the victims were Jews. The reaction in Israel was one of shock but not of disbelief. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol said that the only crime that the nine Jewish victims had committed was the fact that they were Jews. The Foreign Minister sent a cable to Secretary General U Thant and tonight U Thant replied by deplored the outrage in Baghdad. All the international efforts to save the men had been to no avail and in Israel some people felt they had not been enough. And while in Israel there was a heavy feeling of mourning, in Iraq, and especially in Baghdad, there was jubilation.

1/3



BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

11 January 1969

Reg & re
from 1/1

Dear Donald

(26) Iraq Internal

Our telegram No. 557 of 30 December.

2. There is still no clear consensus among observers here of the significance of the replacement of the Chief of Staff and of other senior military officers. On the one hand it is said that the new Chief of Staff and divisional commanders were not members of the Ba'ath Party before 17 July 1968 and that their promotion cannot therefore be interpreted as a strengthening of the Party's grip on the Armed Forces, particularly since some of them, particularly the new Chief of Staff, are said to be close friends of General Hardan Abdul Ghaffar ("al-Takriti" has recently been dropped from his name in the press and elsewhere). Some people on the other hand claim they have good grounds for believing that the changes represent a setback for Hardan because the new men are the Party's nominees. Weight is given to this interpretation by the belief that Faisal al Ansari, the former Chief of Staff, was a "professional" soldier and sympathetic to Hardan and that the latter would not readily have agreed to his removal. Ansari is believed to have been arrested subsequently. Our contacts with the new Chief of Staff suggest that he and General Takriti are pulling together and that both are well disposed towards us.

3. You will also have seen from monitoring reports on 5 January that the property of twenty more people has been attacked by order of the Revolutionary Command Council. Qasim al Mufti, one of those named, was (and, I suppose, still is formally) the Ambassador to Kuwait; he is said to have been arrested recently on his return from Kuwait "for consultations". Retired Brigadier Fadhil Muhammad Ali was President Aref's A.D.C., Retired Brigadier Fauzi Shihab al Jumaili and Retired Brigadier Nuri al Khayyat were the Assistant Directors General of Police and of Security respectively until turned out after the July 1968 coup d'état. Retired Brigadier Saab al Hardan commanded the Military Police until July and Retired Major General Mahmoud Uraim commanded Iraqi forces in Jordan until the same time.

4. The Americans and people associated with them have come in for particular attention from the various security authorities in recent days. You will have seen from the telegrams passed through our channels from the I.P.C. Chief Representative to the management in London that an American employee of I.P.C. and his wife have been arrested and that he is accused of spying. The arrest of Dr. Samarra, the I.P.C.'s Iraqi General Manager in Kirkuk, may also be attributable to some connection he had with Baill. Another incident concerns the closing of the former American Community School, which has carried on under the name of the International School since the rupture of relations with the United States. The school had about forty pupils, most of them children of diplomats or of U.N. experts, and the teachers were American ladies married to Iraqis. When the teachers arrived and the children were delivered to the school by their parents on the

D. J. Makinson, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

/morning



morning of 7 January, they were invited inside and then detained by the soldiers who had apparently been there over the weekend and had searched the premises very thoroughly for, presumably, incriminating papers. A Czech official was released within 15 minutes, the Danish Charge d'Affaires succeeded in getting away after a couple of hours, but the rest of the parents were held until orders for their release were received from the Presidential Palace in the afternoon. (One of the American teachers married to an Iraqi is still apparently held however.) This relatively happy outcome was probably due to the energetic intervention of the Sudanese head of the U.N. Development Programme who is said to have threatened to withdraw all U.N. personnel from Iraq if this particular piece of nonsense affecting members of his staff was not stopped. The Army people concerned said they were investigating the murder of the school's janitor, but why they should be doing so and not the police is not clear; nor is it known for certain that the janitor had been killed.

5. We have heard of other examples of arrests and searches involving Iraqis, and the general impression created is that the authorities - and there are many, police, military police, security police, army and probably a security organisation answerable only to the Ba'ath Party - are in the grip of spy fever or are using the pretext of national security to strengthen their grasp on power and to eliminate opponents.

6. In another field, a new press law has been approved by the Council of Ministers. The law will apply to newspapers not published by the General Establishment for Press and Printing, that is Jumhuriyah, Thawra and Hurriyah, and such papers will have to obtain fresh licences in order to continue publication. It is unlikely that the new law will diminish the régime's control over the press.

7. Another example of the régime's intolerance is the treatment meted out to girls and women foolish enough to disregard official disapproval of mini-skirts, which are by local standards skirts which do not extend one inch below the knee. Offenders are picked up by the police and have their legs, and in some cases their faces also, painted in three colours before being released on to the streets to make their way home.

8. The trial of the first group of people accused of spying for Israel opened before the Revolutionary Court on the evening of 4 January. The proceedings were televised and covered the Military Prosecutor's outline of the indictment against them. Nothing fresh came up before the court went into closed session. We have heard, incidentally, that the case against Hussain Jetha Gokal, mentioned in paragraph 3 of my letter 1/3 of 21 December, has been dropped because the family is in the habit of making large donations to religious foundations!

(30).

Yours ever,

P. McKearney

(P. McKearney)

c.c. Chancery:

Beirut, Cairo, Ankara, Amman, Kuwait, Tehran.

separate memo. Jan 15/1
Mr. Mackinon - for senior. Reference.....
CONFIDENTIAL 39.
R.E. NED 1/1
15/1.
MR. A. R. MOORE, CMG., Near Eastern Department

Mr. Julian Amery is coming to see the Minister Without Portfolio on Thursday at 4 p.m. about an impending visit to Rhodesia. He has said that he wants at the same time to raise on a personal basis the case of Mr. Bazzaz, the former Prime Minister of Iraq who is currently in prison.

Mr. Bazzaz is an old personal friend of Mr. Thomson's.

2. I should be grateful to have by close of play on Wednesday a very short note on the circumstances surrounding the imprisonment of Mr. Bazzaz, as well perhaps as a copy of the brief prepared for Mr. Goronwy Roberts' recent interview with the Iraqi Ambassador.

CRBudd

(C. R. BUDD)

14 January 1969

Copies to: Mr. J.R.A. Bottomley

Mr. R. Faber

to note the first sentence

no brief required

CONFIDENTIAL

RL 15/1
ARCH. NO. 1
51-1111-1
NEG 1/1

40.

Mr. C. R. Budd

Minister to see

Mr. Julian Amery's call on
Mr. Thomson, 16 January 1969

Mr. Amery has said that he wants to raise the case of Mr. Bazzaz with you on a personal basis - he knows you have no responsibility for the area.

CLB 15/1

Dr. Abdul Rahman Bazzaz

On 14 December 1968 Baghdad Radio and Television broadcast interviews with two alleged spies who stated that they had been spying for Israel, and had plotted to overthrow the Iraqi Ba'athist Government in conjunction with Cento and the U.S.A. They implicated several prominent Iraqis, and an ex-President of the Lebanon. Among those named was Dr. Bazzaz.

2. Since then there has been no real information about the extent of Dr. Bazzaz's alleged involvement, but the trial, and subsequent arrests, continue (see attached note).

Flag A
Flag B
Flag D

3. A copy of the brief on the arrests, for the Iraqi Ambassador's call on Mr. Goronwy Roberts, and a personality note on Dr. Bazzaz, are attached.

4. The reasons for Dr. Bazzaz's arrest are bound to be speculative, but they are probably based on

(a) the removal of a possible focus of opposition to the present regime;

(b) the wish to serve notice that the concessions to liberalism introduced by Dr. Bazzaz were gone and would not return;

(c) the need to distract domestic discontent with the government.

D. J. Makinson
(D. J. Makinson)
Near Eastern Dept.
15 January, 1969

See subsequent minute (separate)

Now neg & p.a.

CONFIDENTIAL

J. M. M.

Memorandum

Iraq: the internal situation

The short lived regime which followed the coup d'état of 17 July represented an uneasy alliance between the young colonels and the more experienced Ba'athists. On 30 July the latter took advantage of the absence of the leading figures from among the colonels to seize sole power.

2. The Ba'ath regime in Iraq belongs to the orthodox wing of the party and is at odds with the neo-Ba'athists of Syria. The orthodox group accepted, at a conference in Beirut in 1967, the need to cooperate with 'revolutionary elements' to form a popular front and to rectify what has been one of the main weaknesses of Ba'athism, its failure to cooperate and to gain allies. Nevertheless the present government of Iraq finds itself isolated, distrusted by the Shia majority in the country, disinclined to treat with the Kurds and unable to defeat them, and at best ignored and at worst schemed against by the Communists and Nasserists.

3. She is the prisoner of her own foreign policy. She has declared support for Arab guerrillas in Palestine, but complains that the Israelis supply arms and advice to the Kurds. She makes bellicose proclamations about the Arabism of the Gulf and even of Southern Iran, and yet grumbles at Iranian interference in Northern Iraq. Her attitude over Kuwait has kept her at arms length in the Gulf states, and although lacking strength at home harbours the ex-President of Syria and has begun intriguing against the Damascus Government.

4. Economically the country is in a grave state. She is saddled with foreign debts, she devotes a large proportion of her oil reserves to defence, and has once again cut her development budget. The extreme socialism of the Ba'athist doctrine has made businessmen wary of investing in Iraq, and has hampered the development of the oil industry. As conditions deteriorate and discontent mounts, the government has the choice between seeking political solace by acts that make economic nonsense, and instituting practical economic measures that lay them open to accusations of bending the knee to imperialism.

5. It is unlikely that we shall see any marked improvement. Those in power regard themselves as victors in the struggle against the monarchy, the "Western imperialists", and it will be some time before they learn the facts of political and economic life.

6. As so often happens, more attention has been paid to a few recent arrests than to the relatively larger number who have been incarcerated since the regime

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came to power. The trial of the former proceeded publicly until 4 January when it was held in camera, and since then no firm information has been available. We have no information to confirm reports of death sentences. The prisoners probably fall into three groups.

- (a) political opponents held out of harm's way (say a half)
- (b) genuine plotters and spies - the Iraqis are inveterate plotters (say a quarter)
- (c) recent arrests of Jews and foreigners, which, coupled with television and other publicity for the trials, may distract domestic discontent from the government.

7. The arrest of foreigners stems from :

- (a) xenophobia
- (b) alleged American pro-Zionist policy
- (c) a focus for popular discontent (see above)
- (d) ~~not for release~~: an attempt to harass the I.P.C.

8. Five Americans were arrested, three were released on bail. One, an employee of the I.P.C., is still in jail.

9. One American born woman, a British subject by marriage, Mrs. Stainburn, was held for a few hours (about twelve) and was later released. We have no knowledge of any charge made against her.

(D. J. Makinson)
Near Eastern Department
15 January, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To:- Mr. Arthur

Problem

Sir Barnett Janner, M.P., (at present in Jerusalem for a conference of world Jewish leaders) has sent an urgent message to Mr. Roberts on behalf of the British Board of Deputies requesting urgent action on behalf of Jews arrested in Iraq on allegations of spying.

Recommendation

Mr. Roberts should ask the Iraqi Ambassador to call as soon as possible and should say that we are concerned at the reports of arrests in Baghdad, which include a British subject (the American born wife of a British subject working for the United Nations, Mr. Stainburn), and the wife of an American employee of a British company, the I.P.C. Viewed in the context of several other arrests, of both Americans and Jews (in which cases of course we have no locus standi), we would on humanitarian grounds, urge the Iraqi Government to show clemency especially in the case of those under sentence of death. Mr. Roberts might also make the point that such action could only improve the image of the Iraqi Government internationally. He should also raise the questions of Mrs. Wilson's pension, which in spite of repeated assurances, is still not being paid.

Background

1. We have reports from the Americans of the arrest of five American wives, one of whom has acquired United Kingdom nationality by marriage to a British subject (Stainburn), and another who is married to an employee of I.P.C.

2. On 14 December, Iraqi television broadcast a report on the arrest of an alleged new spy ring. Among those taken into custody were at least nine Jews. Since then, reports have been published in Baghdad concerning the arrest of four additional Jews alleged to be spies. On 4 January, 1969, Radio Baghdad announced the opening of a "pro Israel espionage trial" before a military tribunal. Among the accused are the following seven Jews:

Eezra Naaji Zilkha, Fuad Gabay, Yakub Gorji Namoordi, Saleh Haskill, Haskil Si Youn Zil Kha, Eliya Hu Elias Salah Gorji Danus and Sabah Hayim.

The prosecution has demanded the death penalty. It is possible that additional Jews will be tried in the near future. As these men have apparently lived under virtual house arrest, denied freedom of movement, with their telephone lines cut and property confiscated, the chances of their having been involved in espionage do not on the face of it seem great.

RESTRICTED

Argument

We have in the recent past generally taken the line with those urging us to act on behalf of Jews who have been maltreated in Arab countries that not only did we have no locus standi, but also that representations from us were likely to recoil against those they were meant to help. Thus they would merely worsen their position jeopardising the small improvements of the kind we have noted, for example, in the case of the Egyptian Jews. We have, however, consistently said that we view with concern the position of Jewish minorities in Arab (and indeed in other) countries.

In view of the widespread concern of Anglo-Jewry over this case, and in view of the fact that very recently the Iraqi Ambassador expressed to Mr. Roberts his appreciation of the complete frankness of their exchanges of views (record of Conversation on 7 January attached), there is a case for raising it now. It should however, be raised at the same time as other arrests (paragraph 1 of background), and as the matter of Mrs. Wilson's pension.

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MEQ 1/1

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Jim

Extract S.W. B. 17.1.69. Thanks
M.

ME/2976/A/2

"What gives the greatest significance to the French position", adds the paper, "is not only Gen. de Gaulle's appeals for a meeting of the 'Big Four', but especially the introduction of the Palestinian element, an element which, up till now, has been kept in the background in the search for a solution to the crisis." The Tunisian daily recalls in this connection, the statement made by Michel Debre to 'La Nation', in which he stated that "present circumstances in the Middle East make it necessary to come to the aid of the native population of Palestine".

"It is this", concludes 'Al-Amal', "which the Palestinians must consider, much more than the embargo, as both something that has happened and a victory, not only in that which concerns the role which France will be able to play, but also in her clearly defined stand, coming after steps taken by Jarring and the contact made by Scranton, show that in high political circles one is today convinced that the one solution guaranteeing a real, lasting peace is possible only if one takes into account the right of the Palestinians."

Abd al-Karim ash-Shaykhli's Policy Statement

Baghdad home service in Arabic 04.00 GMT 15.1.69

Text of report:

The Foreign Minister Abd al-Karim ash-Shaykhli has asserted that Iraq's attitude towards the Zionist-Israeli aggression, the Palestine cause and the proposed solutions is based on the opinion that the Zionist presence in Palestine territory constitutes a continuing aggression against the Arab nation and the Palestine people. Shaykhli said this in a statement published by the magazine 'Alif Ba' in Baghdad today. He discussed the foreign policy of the revolution and reviewed its practical positions, achievements, developments and scope since 17th July.

The Minister added: The repeated acts of aggression Israel is committing against the territory of the Arab States are logical outgrowths of the continuing aggression aimed at compelling the Arabs to recognise this aggression and resign themselves to its consequences. Regarding Iraq's position on the proposed peaceful solutions and the UN Security Council resolution of 22nd November 1967, the Minister said: Iraq has rejected this resolution, and has expressed reservations regarding UN envoy Gunnar Jarring's mission, which is an outgrowth of the resolution. The resolution has been rejected because it does not have an objective basis and does not recognise the existence of an aggressor party and a party against whom aggression has been committed, but rather propounds the imposition of conditions on the latter party. We believe these conditions are much harsher than those imposed on the aggressor.

It looks as if the resolution were designed to liquidate the Palestine cause in return for withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since the June war, and to impose on the Arab States conciliation with, and recognition of, Israel. The resolution does not include a clear, definite solution for the Arab refugee problem. This contradicts Iraq's attitude, which calls for a recognition of the Palestine people's right to self-determination on Palestine territory as a distinct national entity.

The Minister continued: The fact that the international situation since the June war has created no opportunity for the adoption of a better resolution after some Arab States had agreed to a cease-fire does not mean the resolution is in line with the interests of the Arab nation.

Regarding relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union and the socialist States, the Minister said: In keeping with the principles of the revolution of 17th July and its national character, the Iraqi Republic has followed a course of strengthening its relations with the friendly States which support the Arab causes, particularly the Soviet Union, which has recently proved its friendship to the Arabs and which has often asserted its support for our national causes. The Minister said: the revolution's

completely hostile attitude to imperialism and Zionism in all their forms has won the support of all the struggling and peace-loving peoples. It is natural, therefore, for the revolution to strengthen and develop its relations with the socialist States in general within the framework of solidarity against imperialism.

The Foreign Minister then discussed Iraq's relations with other European States, except Britain. He said Iraq's attitude stemmed from the feeling that those countries were victims of Zionist deceit and imperialist pressure. The Minister said there had been no change in Iraq's stand on the severance of relations with West Germany, which continually proclaims its submission to US imperialism and its alliance with world Zionism.

Baghdad 'Ath-Thawrah' on State of War with Israel

Baghdad home service in Arabic 05.30 GMT 15.1.69

Text of press review item:

Under the heading: "What is Iraq's attitude towards the expected Israeli aggression," 'Ath-Thawrah' says: News agencies continue to compete in confirming that the principal purpose of the Israeli concentrations on the Eastern Front of Palestine is to direct a strong blow against the Iraqi Army units stationed on fraternal Jordanian territory. Whatever the nature and objectives of the enemy concentrations, it is an established fact that we are in a state of war characterised by a series of incessant battles which end either in victory or defeat. As long as we have decided to fight our war of destiny with Israel, obviously we must always take all contingencies into account.

The time has come to take accurate control of the situation in order to fulfil the promise the Arab Governments gave the masses of the people in their assertion that the June setback was but one round, and that a long and fierce-war will be resumed with Israel to erase its present aggressive and usurping existence.

The Iraqi revolutionary leadership will stand with our steadfast Army on the firing line, fully prepared to return each blow twofold. Israel will be taught a lesson that will open the door to the liquidation of its entire existence.

Moshe Dayan's Meeting with Students

Israel in English for Abroad 20.45 GMT 15.1.69

Text of report from Tel Aviv by Andrew (?Maizels):

Three-thousand Tel Aviv students received a unique lesson in civics today. They sat for two hours in the Mann auditorium and asked questions and received answers from Defence Minister, Moshe Dayan. The questions of 12th graders were well thought out and covered a wide range of topics. Like this question on the effect of the Beirut airport raid on world opinion. Dayan's answer [voice of Dayan heard fading into English translation.]

Those who want to understand us will understand that we want peace. Or if we can't have peace we want to maintain the present cease-fire. But if the Arab States do not want peace and are not prepared to honour the cease-fire then world opinion must understand what we are telling our neighbours, namely: If you fight us we will fight you; if you hit us we will hit you. We do not have a policy of retaliation or reprisals: Israeli policy is one of reciprocity.

43

Cops.

NEQ 1/1

Action with Oil Dept.

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER/CAT A

IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO 78 23 JANUARY, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDSD TO FCO TEL NO 78 OF 23 JAN REPTD FOR INFMN SVG TO
WASHINGTON PARIS THE HAGUE TEHRAN AND BEIRUT.

MY IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING TELEGRAM: IRAQI OIL.

WHEN I WAS HOME LAST WEEK I TOLD DALLEY THAT I THOUGHT
THE REGIME WAS OVER THE WORST OF THE BAD PATCH IT HAS BEEN
NEGOTIATING DURING THE PAST COUPLE OF MONTHS AND THAT IT MIGHT
SOON BE POSSIBLE TO DO BUSINESS WITH IT. WE SHOULD, HOWEVER,
HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE. I HAD IN MIND

(I) THE APPOINTMENT OF THE NEW CHIEF OF STAFF HAD STRENGTH-
ENED BOTH THE REGIME AND ALSO GENERAL TAKRITI.

(II) TAKRITI AND SHEIKHLY, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SEEMED TO BE PULLING TOGETHER AND IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT
THE REGIME AS A WHOLE, INCLUDING AMMASH, WAS MORE COHESIVE.

(III) THE ATTACKS ON THE IPC IN THE PRESS, ETC.,
HAD BEEN IN A VERY MINOR KEY.

(IV) THERE WAS A MARKED WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF THE
IRAQIS TO LOOK TO THE U.K. FOR EQUIPMENT FOR INDUSTRIAL
AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND IN THE MILITARY FIELD.

(V) ONLY A STRONG, EVEN RUTHLESS, GOVERNMENT CAN
SURVIVE IN THIS COUNTRY.

12. SINCE

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-2-

2. SINCE THEN, HAHN HAS HAD HIS SLIGHTLY ENCOURAGING
INTERVIEW WITH THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS - PLEASE SEE
BAGHDAD TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE. THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS
IN CONNECTION WITH COMPANY DETAINEES IS ALSO MORE ENCOURAGING.

3. ON BALANCE, I THINK HAHN IS PROBABLY RIGHT IN
RECOMMENDING THAT SUTCLIFFE SHOULD HAVE AUTHORITY TO MAKE
SOME MOVE TOWARDS THE IRAQIS AND AT LEAST HOLD OUT THE HOPE
OF REASONABLE, IF GRADUATED, FINANCIAL ADVANTAGES IN
RETURN FOR A SUITABLE QUID PRO QUO. THE COMING VISIT OF
THE COMET MISSION MIGHT CONCEIVABLY PROVIDE A SUITABLE AT-
MOSPHERE.

FCO PASS SVG TO WASHINGTON PARIS THE HAGUE TEHRAN AND BEIRUT.

MR. EVANS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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23 Jun.

Times 14/1/1969

THE RULERS OF BAGHDAD

NEQ 1/1

The Danish Chargé d'Affaires in Baghdad has been declared persona non grata and expelled from Iraq. He is said to have been arrested while taking his children to school as a result of one of those misunderstandings in which diplomats—and of course others—are all too liable to get involved in police states. The fact that the representative of Denmark—not a country Iraqis have strong feelings about—should have been bundled out in twenty-four hours reflects the irrational nature of the present Iraqi regime.

The regime came into power after a bloodless coup last July, as a result of which one general (Ahmad Hasan Bakr) took over from another (Abdul Rahman Aref). The usual promises were made that everything was going to be wonderful, but the regime's performance has been even worse than the most sceptical prophets expected. Most shocking has been the fate of its opponents and critics. Iraq today is a country where people suddenly disappear and where it is safer not to be curious about what has happened to them. This applies to small people in every walk of life as well as to bigger names whom the present bosses might see as rivals.

News about some of the more important victims gets known. In November the body of Dr. Nasr al-Hani, a former Foreign Minister, was found in the street. He had been murdered. A month later General Okaili, a former Minister of

Defence, and Dr. Bazzaz, a former Prime Minister, were arrested. Dr. Bazzaz is a man of intelligence and independence. He was put in prison both by Nuri Pasha and by Fassim. The present regime, in a burst of mad originality, accuses him of being a Zionist agent. There must be the gravest fears for the prisoners of men capable of making charges of this sort.

Their attitude towards criticism is reflected in a new press law published last week. By this law nothing derogatory to the President or members of the government may be published, nor anything "harmful to the revolution or which helps the propagation of separatist, reactionary, regional, Zionist, or racial ideology". Other clauses make it doubly certain that any journalist who thought of speaking out of turn (admittedly not very likely) will be crushed.

It can only be a question of time before a regime as bad as this comes to an end. It would, however, be too optimistic to say that whatever took its place would have to be better. But the existence of a government like this is a matter of more than domestic concern. It makes it even more difficult to move towards an Arab-Israeli settlement and strengthens the hard-liners in Israel. Many Arabs and many Arab governments would be glad to end the continuous state of war. But regimes like those in Iraq and Syria talk nothing except war and are fundamentally unstable.

pe on file

CYpher/CAT A

CONFIDENTIAL

IMMEDIATE BAGHDAD

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELEGRAM NO. 77

23 JANUARY 1969

NEQ 1/1

CONFIDENTIAL

Action with Oil Dept.

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELEGRAM NO 77 OF 23 JANUARY

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION SAVING TO

WASHINGTON PARIS THE HAGUE TEHRAN AND BEIRUT.

HAHN, WHO IS NOW BACK FROM LONDON, TELLS US THAT SUTCLIFFE OF BP WILL BE COMING TO BAGHDAD ON 25 JANUARY. HE HOPES THAT SUTCLIFFE WILL BE GIVEN SOME FREEDOM OF ACTION BUT MATTER HAD NOT BEEN DECIDED WHEN HAHN LEFT LONDON. SUTCLIFFE WOULD, IN ANY CASE, BE GIVEN AN EXPLANATORY NOTE ON ROYALTY EXPENSING WHICH IT WAS HOPED HE WOULD BE ABLE TO GIVE PERSONALLY TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

2. HAHN SAID THAT HE HAD EMPHASISED TO GROUPS NEED FOR SOME MOVE BY COMPANY, IF ONLY TO GAIN TIME. HE HAD NOT, UNDERSTANDABLY IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, FOUND THEM VERY RECEPTIVE.

3. HAHN SAYS THAT KIRKUK ACTING MANAGER HAS HAD A USEFUL TALK WITH LOCAL ARMY COMMANDER, WHO SAID THAT SAHARA CASE SHOULD BE SETTLED WITHIN TWO WEEKS.

FCO PASS SAVING TO WASHINGTON PARIS THE HAGUE TEHRAN AND BEIRUT.

MR. EVANS [REPEATED AS REQUESTED].

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&&&&

TELEGRAM SECTION
Room 124 K.C.S
Communications Department

N. East

YTC/1
May 1/1

Copy/ies of the following telegram has/have been sent

77 from Baghdad

TO:

air desk.

(Signed)

(Department)

(Date)

Action taken in Communications Department:

(Initials)

(Date)

AFTER ACTION THIS FORM SHOULD BE SENT TO
THE APPROPRIATE REGISTRY FOR RETENTION

EN CLAIR

44

NE

BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO. 85

24, JANUARY, 1969

TOP

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27 JAN 1969	
NEQ 1/1	

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ADDSD TO FCO TEL NO 85 OF 24 JAN RFI AMMAN, ANKARA, BAHRAIN

RESIDENCY, BEIRUT CAIRO, KUWAIT, TEHRAN AND WASHINGTON.

1. IRAQ INTERNAL. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT FOUR CARS WERE BLOWN UP IN ONE OF THE MAIN STREETS OF BAGHDAD LAST NIGHT. AN OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN DESCRIBED THE EXPLOSIONS AS AN ATTEMPT TO CAUSE CONFUSION AND INSECURITY AND TO UNDERMINE THE REVOLUTION, AND SAID THAT A NUMBER OF SUSPECTS WERE ARRESTED. 2. AFTER THE EXPLOSIONS THE AREA WAS CORDONED OFF AND PEOPLE WERE QUESTIONED AND SEARCHED BY TROOPS AND ARMED CIVILIANS. EUROPEANS QUESTIONED WERE TREATED COURTEOUSLY. TROOPS NEAR THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE WERE ON THE ALERT. 3. THE TOWN IS QUIET THIS MORNING AND THE SITUATION HAS APPARENTLY RETURNED TO NORMAL ALTHOUGH GUARDS AT KEY POINTS MAY HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED

AM

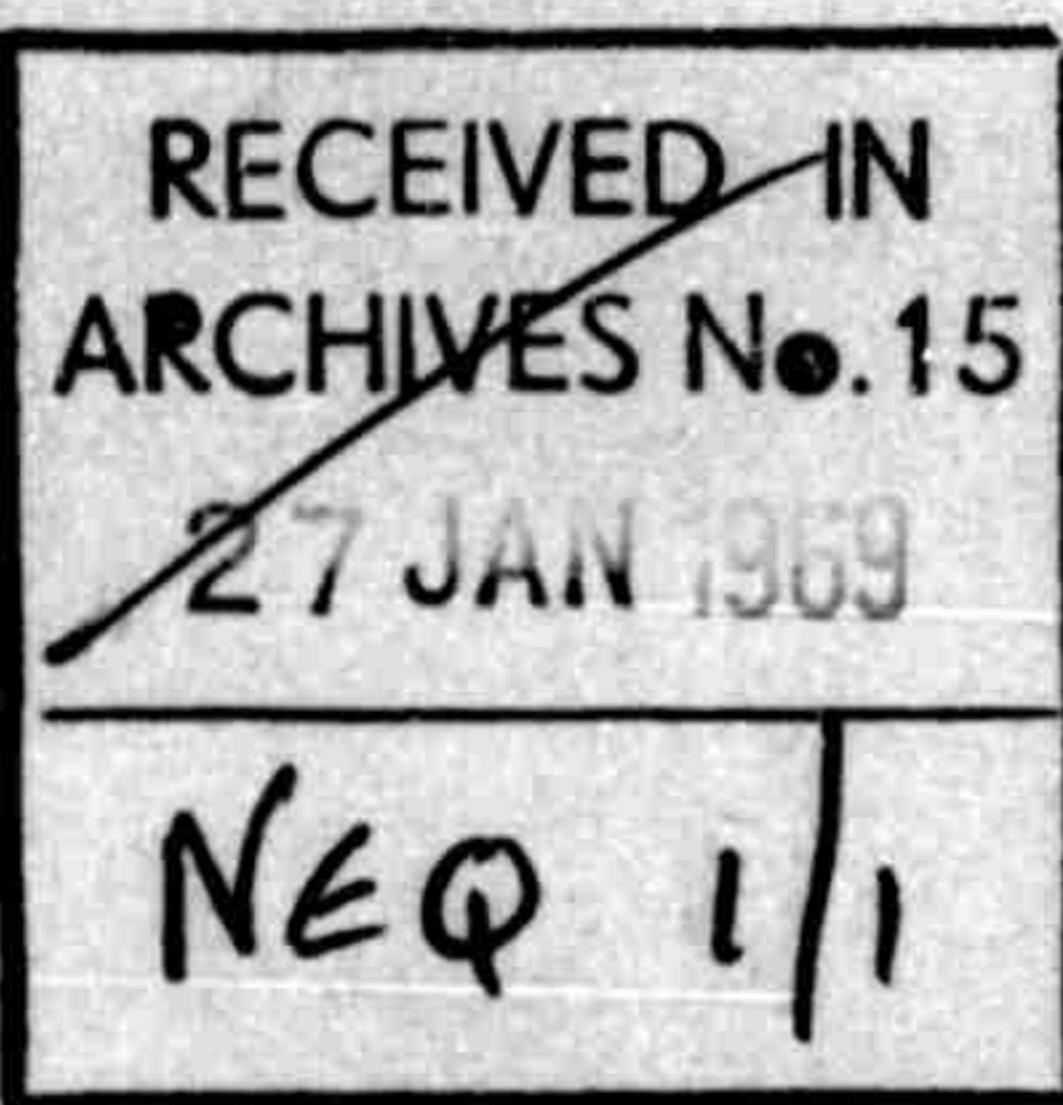
MR. EVANS

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U.N.D.
DEFENCE POLICY DEPT.

MILITARY ADVISER
P.U.S.D.
I.P.D.
NEWS DEPT.
DIS MOD

45

6/3



BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

16 January 1969

NE Dr.

~~Please make correction
before printing.~~

Dear Department,

Would you please refer to our
Despatch of the 9th of January, 1969.

The word "must" should be deleted
from paragraph 4 of the Summary.

Yours ever,
CHANCERY.

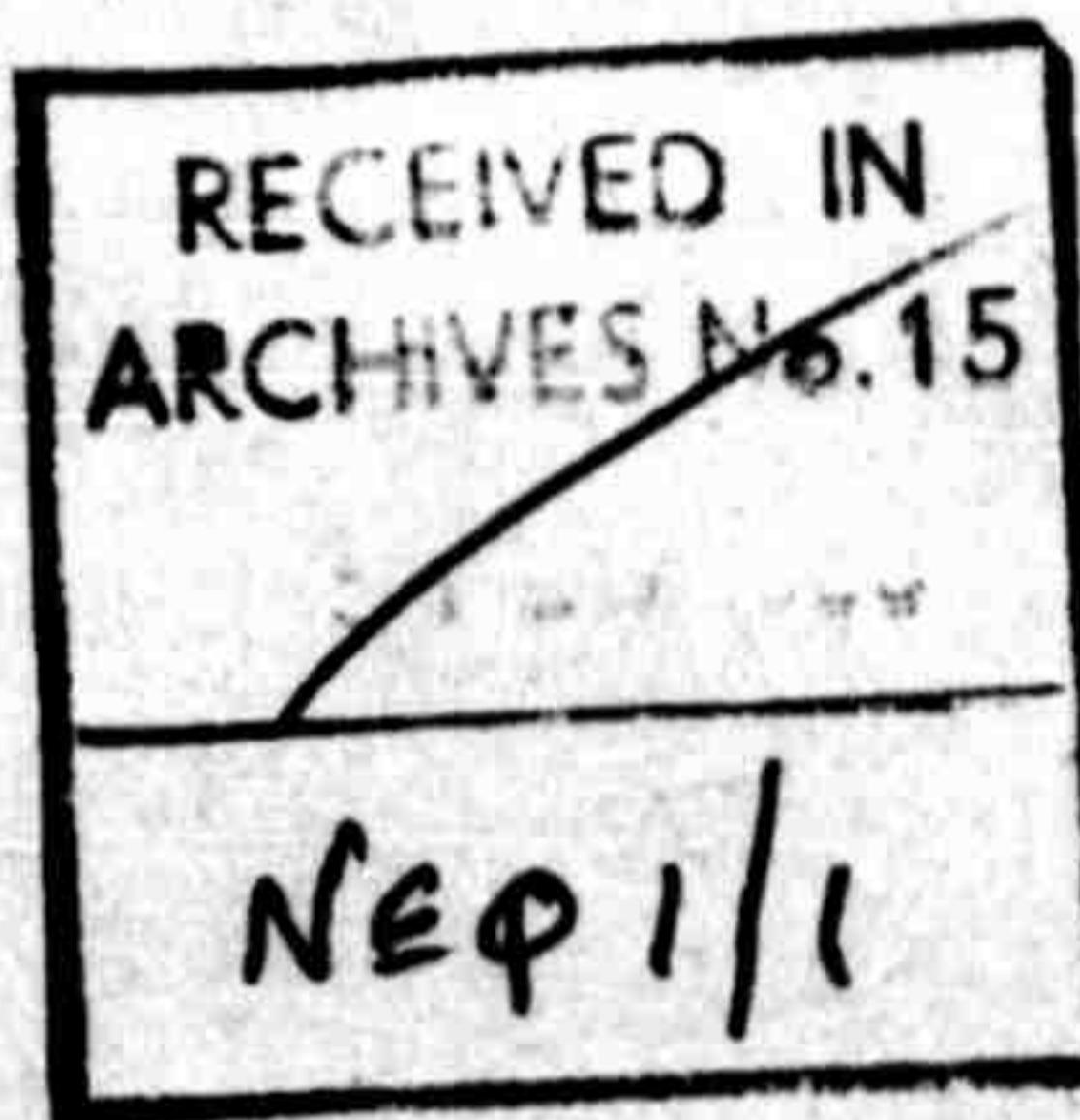
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

46.

B74 NASRAT'S MURDER: BAGHDAD STRESSES KILLER'S PERSONAL MOTIVE
(WITH B63)

(BAGHDAD RADIO) IT HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY STATED THAT THE INVESTIGATION INTO MURDER OF THE LATE STAFF COLONEL ABD AL-KARIM MUSTAFA NASRAT HAS BEEN COMPLETED. THE KILLER HAS MADE A FULL CONFESSION ABOUT THE CRIME AND HIS PERSONAL MOTIVES. HE WILL SOON BE SENT FOR TRIAL TO RECEIVE HIS JUST PUNISHMENT.

MF BBC MON 3/2 ZA 2200



B74 PERSONAL MOTIVE 2

+THE OFFICIAL INFORMANT ADDED THAT THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT HAD PREFERRED TO KEEP SILENT REGARDING THIS PERSONAL AND SAD CASE IN REVERENCE TO THE SOUL OF THE DESEASED. BUT A GROUP OF PEOPLE WISHED TO MAKE CAPITAL OUT OF THIS PERSONAL CASE WITH WHICH THEY CAN TRADE IN THE MARKET OF POLITICAL AUCTIONS.... THEY INSISTED ON DOING SO AT A TIME WHEN ZIONIST AND IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA ARE WAGING A HYSTERICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE REVOLUTION OF IRAQ AND THE ARABS... THEY ELECTED TO DO SO AT A TIME WHEN THE CRIMINAL ZIONIST OCCUPATION IS STILL

DOMINAT

MF BBC MON 3/2 ZA 2201

Reg. & Fr. - 66

PAWM 4/2

L S S S S S U R G E N T ! ! ! ! !

B52 BAGHDAD RADIO LINKS UP WITH T.V.

BAGHDAD RADIO INTERRUPTED ITS 19.30 GMT NEWS BULLETIN AT 19.42 GMT TO SAY THAT THE RADIO IS LINKING UP WITH BAGHDAD T.V.

ME
THE LINK UP HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. MUSIC IS BEING PLAYED. WATCH BEING MAINTAINED.

END BBC MON 3/2 2051 DMJ UPI TVN

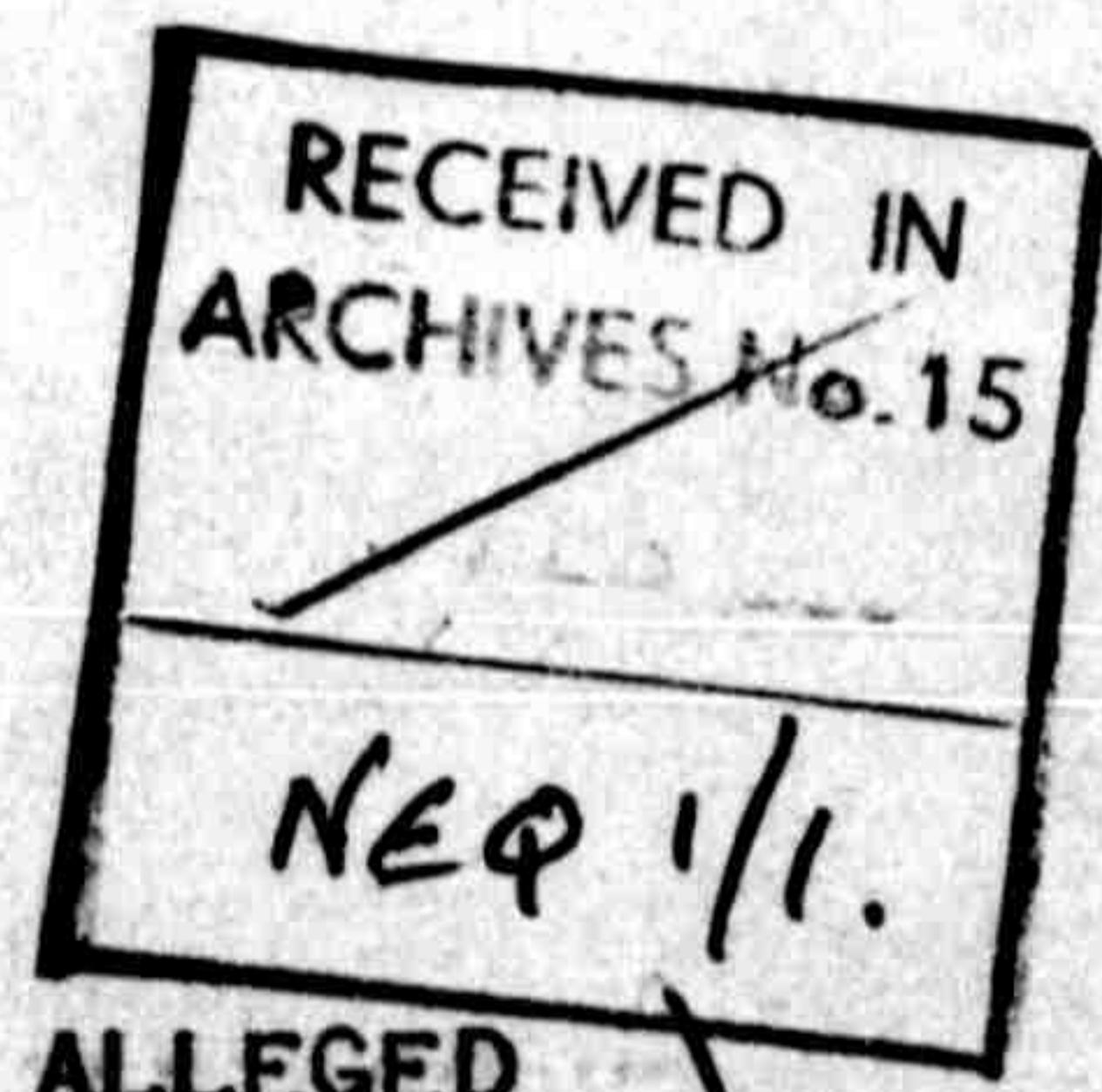
B' ! ! ! ! ! U R G E N T ! ! ! ! !

B63 COL. ABD AL-KARIM'S MURDER: - BAGHDAD BROADCASTS ALLEGED CONFESSION (WITH B62)

BAGHDAD RADIO AND T.V. SAID AT 19.47 GMT THAT THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE MURDER OF COLONEL (RETIRED) ABD AL-KARIM MUSTAFA NASRAT HAS BEEN COMPLETED.

ME
IT THEN BROADCAST WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS A CONFESSION BY THE MURDERER. THE DEED WAS SAID TO HAVE BEEN DONE FOR FINANCIAL GAIN.

MF BBC MON 3/2 2103 DMJ TVN UPI



NE

O**
B63 +CONFESsION+ 2:

ACCORDING TO THE RECORDED +CONFESsION+, THE MURDERER GAVE HIS NAME AS KHUDAYYIR MUHSIN AL-FAHD AL-KHAZ'AL AND HIS AGE AS 20 YEARS.

HE IS A CONSCRIPTED SERVICEMAN OF AL-BAYYYA' TOWN, A SUBURB OF BAGHDAD. HE SAID THAT HE KILLED THE COLONEL AT HIS HOME IN AL-YARMUK TOWN, ANOTHER SUBURB OF BAGHDAD ON SUNDAY 27TH. JANUARY BECAUSE HE THOUGHT HE HAD PLENTY OF MONEY. THEY ERE HAVING DRINKS AND THEN: +I SEIZED AN OPPORTUNITY AND STABBED HIM WITH A KNIFE. I SEARCHED THE HOUSE AFTER HIS DEATH AND TOOK WHAT THERE WAS AND LEFT IN HIS CAR, AND FLED TO NAJAF.+

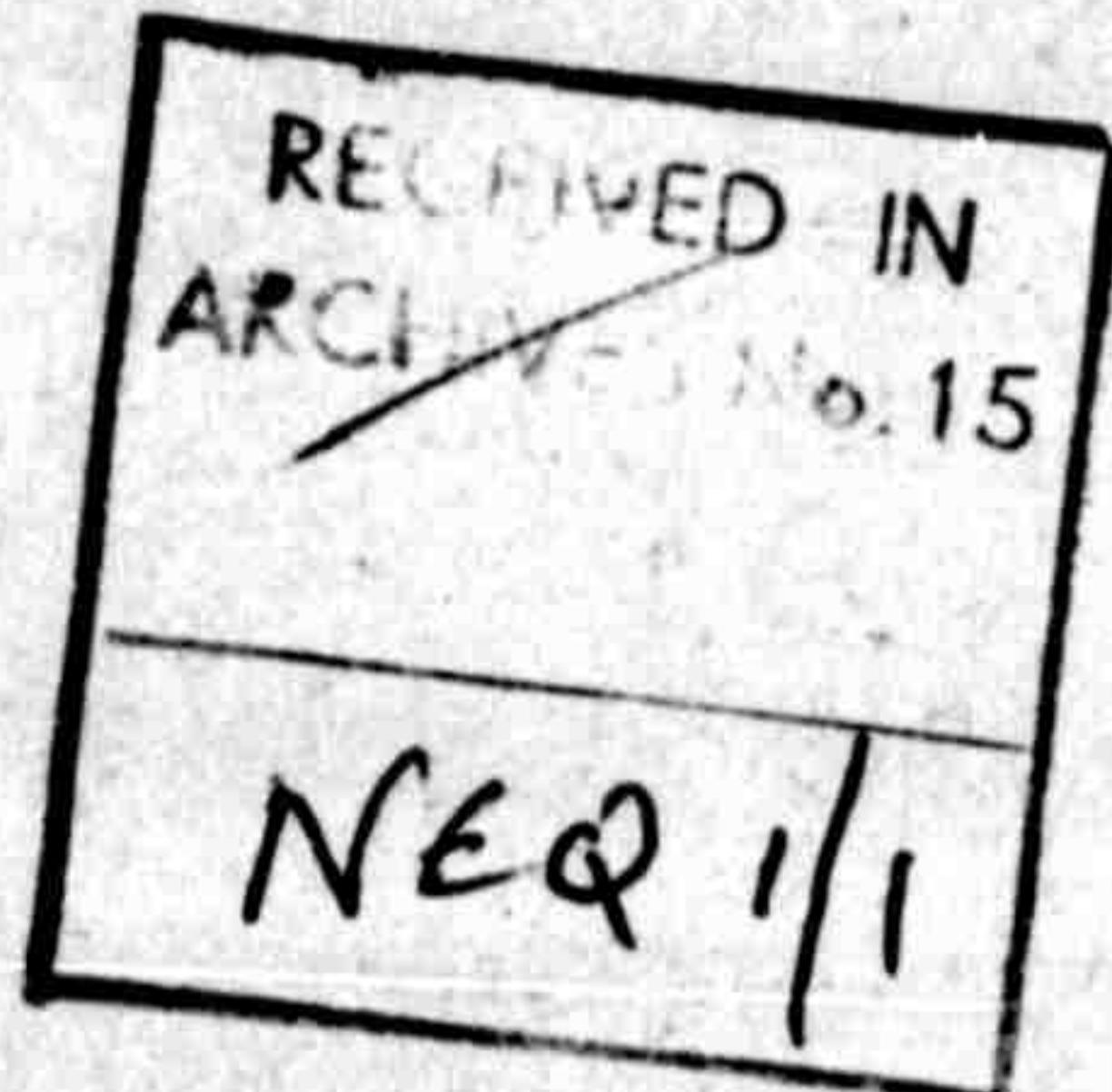
HE SAID HE WAS SORRY HE HAD KILLED +BECAUSE THE MONEY WAS USELESS TO ME+ AND BECAUSE I KILLED A DEAR FRIEND.+

END BBC MON 2125 3/2 DMJ UPI TVN

Reg P.A. - M. PMM 4/2.

BBC MON

140



B19 IRAQI COMPANY SOLE AGENT FOR ALL TANKERS AT PORTS

(BAGHDAD RADIO) IT HAS BEEN DECIDED TO MAKE THE IRAQI MARITIME TRANSPORT COMPANY THE AGENT FOR ALL CRUDE OIL TANKERS CALLING AT IRAQI PORTS. THIS MEASURE WAS ENFORCED ON TUESDAY UNDER AN AMENDMENT TO THE COMPANY LAW. COMPANIES OWNING AND CHARTERING OIL TANKERS MUST NOW COMMUNICATE WITH THE IRAQI MARITIME TRANSPORT COMPANY'S BRANCH IN BASRA TO SEEK THE SERVICES REQUIRED BY OIL TANKERS.

THE COMPANY HAS FOR SOME YEARS EXTENDED ITS SERVICES TO A NUMBER OF OIL TANKERS AND MERCHANT SHIPS IN A SATISFACTORY WAY AND FOR REASONABLE FEES. IT HAS SENT A STATEMENT TO THIS EFFECT TO ALL CONCERNED.

END BBC MON 1422

2/2 HTM

(KYD)

Rey Pa.

PMWMM 4/2

B36 IRAQ: TIKRITI CHAIRS CABINET MEETING



(BAGHDAD RADIO) THE CABINET HELD ITS ORDINARY MEETING UNDER AIR
STAFF LT. GEN. HARDAN ABD AL-GHAFFAR AL-TIKRITI THIS MORNING. IT
DISCUSSED THE AMENDMENT OF SEVERAL LAWS AND REGULATIONS AND SOME
TECHNICAL REPORTS AND PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY THE MINISTRIES.

END BBC MON 4/2 1746 CDF (KY)

Key
for archive

PNMM

5/2

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NEQ 1/1

Daily Telegraph
29/1/69

Unlikely Plotter

THAT of all people Dr. Bazzaz, Ambassador here before he became Prime Minister of Iraq in 1963, is now in danger of his life in Baghdad is not the least incredible feature of the murderous situation there.

He is accused of pro-Israeli espionage and anti-Government plotting. Yesterday an English friend of his told me Dr. Bazzaz had assured him in London last summer that he had no intention of returning to Iraqi politics, which he entered after being Dean of—ironically—the Law College at Baghdad University.

As for spying, he fought a resolute battle for Arab rights in 1964 as secretary-general of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, transferring it to Vienna from Geneva when the Swiss refused it tax-free status on the ground that it was not a truly international body.

• • •

EN CLAIR

BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TELNO 156 5 FEBRUARY, 1969

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48

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5 FEB 1969	
NEQ 1/1	

ADDS TO FCO TEL NO 156 OF 5 FEB RFI TEHRAN AND ANKARA AND SAVING TO BEIRUT WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK. THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER OF 5 FEB PUBLISHES THE TEXT OF AN INTERVIEW WHICH PRESIDENT BAKR HAS GIVEN TO THE AL SHABAB MAGAZINE. 2. ON THE KURDI SH PROBLEM THE PRESIDENT STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD COMMITTED ITSELF TO THE DECLARATION OF 29 JUNE 1966 AND HAD CARRIED OUT MOST OF ITS PROVISIONS. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE ONLY OUTSTANDING ISSUE WAS THE DISBANDING OF THE PESH MARGA FORCES . 3. THE PRESIDENT THEN REHEARSED THE GOVERNMENTS ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE IT CAME INTO POWER, NAMELY THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES, THE REINSTATEMENT OF OFFICIALS DISMISSED FOR POLITICAL REASONS, THE RETURN OF EXPATRIATES, THE LAUNCHING OF A NEW BATTLE WITH IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM THROUGH THE ESPIONAGE TRIALS, THE WISH TO SETTLE THE KURDI SH ISSUE IN A PEACEFUL AND JUST MANNER. THE PURSUIT OF A PLANNED ECONOMY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF IRAQS RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST CAMP, AND THE CONFRONTATION WITH THE IMPERIALIST POWERS COMMENSURATE WITH THEIR HOSTILE ATTITUDES TOWARDS IRAQS NATIONAL AND NATIONALIST ISSUES. 4. IN A MESSAGE TO THE YOUTH OF THE COUNTRY HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM AND COUNTER REVOLUTION. FCO PASS SAVING TO BEIRUT WASHINGTON AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

MR. EVANS

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Q2.

Print

49

B29 IRAQ: PARDON FOR POLITICAL OFFENDERS SENTENCED IN ABSENTIA

(BAGHDAD RADIO) TO IMPLEMENT THE CONTENTS OF PROCLAMATION NO ONE ISSUED BY THE 17TH JULY, 1968, REVOLUTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REVOLUTION'S SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES, TO CLOSE THE NATIONAL RANKS AND TO PROVIDE ALL CITIZENS WITH A NEW OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE THE COUNTRY SINCERELY AND LOYALLY AND TO TAKE PART IN THE FATEFUL BATTLE BEING WAGED BY OUR ARAB NATION, THE REVOLUTION COMMAND COUNCIL MET TODAY AND TOOK THE FOLLOWING DECISION:

1 - TO PARDON ALL THOSE SENTENCED IN ABSENTIA FOR POLITICAL REASONS BY THE ABOLISHED COURT MARTIALS, THE STATE SECURITY COURTS AND THE MILITARY COURTS

MF BBC MON 26/2 ZA 1352 TVN

RECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES No. 15
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NEQ 111

B29 PARDON 2:

2 - ALL THOSE AFFECTED BY THIS DECISION MUST CONTACT THE COMPETENT QUARTERS BEGINNING 1ST MARCH 1969, REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS DECISION. THOSE RESIDING IN IRAQ MUST DO SO WITHIN ONE MONTH AND THOSE LIVING ABROAD WITHIN FOUR MONTHS.

THE PREMIER AND THE MINISTERS OF JUSTICE AND OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS SHALL IMPLEMENT THE DECISION.

END BBC MON 26/2 ZA 1355 (KYD) TVN

Reg-
MM
m-

A. THE ARAB WORLD AND ISRAELRECEIVED IN
ARCHIVES No.15

11 FEB 1968

NEQ 1/1

Dr. Rashid ar-Rifa'i on Changes in Iraq's Oil PolicyBaghdad home service in Arabic 04.00 GMT 29.1.69

Excerpts from report:

The Iraqi Minister of Oil and Minerals Dr. Rashid ar-Rifa'i has said that the basic changes in oil policy since the 17th July revolution had demonstrated that it was a genuine revolution. One of the important changes had been the revolutionary Government's adoption of a policy of creating an independent oil industry with no connections or deals with world monopolies. The practical steps taken to apply courageously and without hesitation a policy of direct exploitation had ended the weak policies of the period before the revolution and eliminated hesitation in implementing our national policy.

The Minister was speaking to the magazine 'Alif Ba', published today, about the basic changes in oil policy since the 17th July revolution, the policy towards foreign oil companies operating in Iraq, the ERAP company's activities, the achievements in the Rumaylah oilfield, and Iraq's policy towards the Organisation of Arab Oil Exporting Countries.

The Minister said: The Ministry is now using Iraqi experience instead of foreign consulting companies. Also, profiting from the experience of Arab and friendly countries, it is preparing our own technical cadres to carry out our oil projects.

In reply to a question by the magazine, the Minister explained that the oil companies in Iraq were continuing, in one way or another, with their attempts to delay application of the provisions of Law No. 80. They hope to recover some of the oil fields seized from them by concluding a new agreement not substantially different from the old concession agreement. The revolutionary Government rejects any kind of bargaining that would enable the companies to obstruct Law No. 80. It utters a warning that any such attempt will fail completely, as the 1965 Baghdad draft agreement did. We have tried to convince the companies of these facts, but they prefer to hold on to their fond illusions.

In reply to another question, Dr. Rifa'i said: As we have often said, the revolutionary Government believes in direct exploitation as the basis of its oil and mineral policy. The Government is naturally taking the necessary preparatory steps to apply this policy in the northern Rumaylah oilfield. The Government has completed the geophysical studies of the first stage of the project. Companies and establishments have been invited to submit bids for the first stage, and the engineers of the Iraqi Ministry of Oil and Minerals have carried out these studies with great efficiency, justifying the optimistic expectation that it will be possible to do without foreign expertise in the future. The first stage of the production project is expected to be completed in 1970. It will have an output of 5,000,000 tons a year.

Asked about Iraq's attitude towards the Organisation of Arab Oil Exporting Countries, Dr. Rifa'i said: We believe Arab oil policies must be unified and all Arab States involved. We want to create a spirit of joint action by the Arab States in the oilfields, and this will always remain our goal. Accordingly, our attitude towards the Organisation has not changed.

Discussing his Ministry's plans for the exploitation of minerals the Minister said: Since the 17th July revolution, the Ministry has implemented a new policy on mineral wealth. In sulphur exploitation, we have taken serious steps to exploit the (Mishraq) sulphur field and have prepared plans for mineral surveys in other fields. We are now studying how to exploit and industrialise phosphates, and will prepare plans to exploit this new resource.

A plan has been prepared for a geological survey of the whole country over the next 10 years, in addition to survey programmes drawn up yearly for specific mineral areas. The legal formalities for forming the National Iraqi Minerals Company have been completed. We are now very busy creating [word indistinct] the structure of this company so that it can begin operating immediately after its formation...

Iraqi Comment on External Reaction to Executions

(a) Baghdad home service in Arabic 11.00-19.30 GMT 29.1.69

11.00 GMT: Excerpts from report on protest to Britain:

The Iraqi Republic strongly protested to Britain last night against her attitude towards the execution of the members of the spy ring... The Iraqi Ambassador in London handed the protest to the British Foreign Office... The Iraqi Embassy announced in a statement that it was regrettable that the British Government should regard this subject as an opportunity for interfering in the affairs of an independent and sovereign State.

15.00 GMT: Text of report of statement by Iraqi Embassy in Amman:

A statement issued by the Iraqi Embassy in Amman today says that by its hostile campaign against Iraq following the execution of spies Israel is trying to conceal the Zionist occupation authorities' savage actions against Arab citizens in the occupied territory. The statement adds that these actions include the annihilation of scores of youths and the wounding of defenceless women in Rafah. The statement says the hostile Zionist campaign also aims at creating a suitable atmosphere and a false justification for a new aggression against Iraq and the Arab States.

The statement affirms that this is not an anti-Jewish issue. Those executed were not just Jews - they belonged to various faiths. The Revolution Court, the statement adds, acquitted a number of people, including Jews. The statement also says that all the criminals held Iraqi nationality except one, who belonged to a Muslim State - Pakistan. It adds that the crime was committed in Iraq and against Iraq. Iraqi laws will be enforced against criminals, the statement concludes.

15.20 GMT: Text of commentary denouncing British interference:

There is uproar in London, clamour in Rome and tears and protests in New York. We, our revolution and strugglers, need only trample on the interests of the British for London to complain, blow up the bridges of the agents for Rome to clamour, and humiliate America's sanctities, if America has any sanctities.

Yes, the revolution need take only one decisive measure to sow fear in the capitals of imperialism, which (?has sucked) the blood of workers for half a century. No, you bloodsuckers, you will not return to Iraq, and you will never gain a (?foothold) here, for the vanguard fighters who have braved death fighting against imperialism are now leading the struggle and hold the reins of power.

They bring to mind the days of our people's struggle against the British. The British with their traditional imperialist intelligence realise that 27th January was the starting point of a new stand unknown in the political history of this area. The British and their American brothers turned Iraq into a theatre on whose broad stage they could perform their acts and create strife among the people. But the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist 17th July revolution taught the British and the Americans that the regime would not fight the people. Nor will the people fight among themselves as the British and Americans would like them to. We shall not allow the imperialists and Zionists to tamper with our destiny.

50
3 MAR 1969

NEQ 1/1

NATO Expert Working Group on the Middle

East

I have been asked to co-ordinate the production of the paper which the Foreign and Commonwealth Office is required to contribute to the Working Group before the meeting opens. I give below a list of the subjects on which we are asked to comment together with the names of the people or other Departments from whom I should be grateful to receive contributions.

A Middle East Crisis Mr. Yarnold

B The Domestic Situation

- in Israel Mr. Appleyard

- in the U.A.R. North African Dept.

- in Jordan Mr. Daly

- in Syria Mr. Bell

- in Iraq Mr. Hinchcliffe

C The Persian Gulf and the Arabian

Peninsula Arabian Dept.

D Soviet Penetration in the

Mediterranean area, the Near East

and the Maghreb

Western Organisations Dept. in
consultation with
Eastern European
and Soviet Dept.

2. I attach to each copy of this minute a copy of the relevant section of the paper which was written for the last meeting of NATO Experts on the Middle East in October, 1968.

3. I should be grateful if contributions could reach me in draft by close of play on Friday, 10 March.

*Regey not yet
6 March 1969*
When Mr Yarnold
has finished with my draft
it should be attached
here.

PLMH
5/3.

Copies to:

Mr. Yarnold

Mr. Appleyard

Mr. Daly

Mr. Parry (N.A.D.)

Mr. Parsons (N.O.D.)

Mr. Daly

(E) In Iraq

30. The short-lived régime which followed the coup d'état of 17 July represented an uneasy alliance between a group of young colonels and the politically more experienced Ba'athists.

On 30 July, the latter took advantage of the absence from Baghdad of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence to seize sole power.

31. The Ba'ath régime in Iraq belongs to the orthodox wing of the party and is at odds with the neo-Ba'athists of Syria. At a conference in Beirut in 1967, the orthodox group accepted

/the

CONFIDENTIAL

the need to co-operate with "revolutionary elements" to form a popular front and to rectify the failure of Ba'athism to cohere and to gain allies. Nevertheless, the present government of Iraq finds itself isolated internationally, distrusted by the Shia majority in the country, on bad terms with the Kurds but unable to defeat them, and greatly suspected by the Communists and Nasserists.

32. Economically, the country is in a serious state. Although burdened with foreign debts, Iraq is still spending a large proportion of her oil reserves on arms procurement, and has once again cut her development budget. Uncertainty about the future and the extreme socialism of the Ba'athist doctrine has made foreign businessmen hesitant about the idea of investing in Iraq. It remains to be seen whether the new régime will be any more inclined than its predecessor to develop better working relations with the Iraq Petroleum Company, although the omens are not particularly promising.

CONFIDENTIAL

51

Mr. Acland 13/3

letter

PMH

0/3



BRITISH EMBASSY,
BAGHDAD.

8 March 1969

Copy to
NEQ 1/4.



Dear Hinchcliffe.

M.F.A.

The already in
a Minister, Youth
welfare.

The Defence Attaché has been told by his Sudanese colleague that there is a move afoot to transfer Al-Sheikli to a more influential position. He was not sure what the title would be but thought something like "Secretary General for Ba'ath Youth Affairs". He had been chosen as the Minister most capable of reconciling the conflicting views of others and producing a workable compromise.

2. The appointment was part of a larger plan which aimed at avoiding the party internal clashes which had led to disaster in 1963. They were determined that the leadership should not be split and he, the Sudanese M.A., believed that the leaders were making real efforts to get on with each other.

3. He also offered his opinion that Sadam al Tikriti was a "very dangerous man" but did not specify why he thought so.

sec. Gen
of
Reg. Command
of
CIAO,
DIA
etc

Yours sincerely
M. Jenner

(M. K. Jenner)

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.,
London, S.W.1.

Re PMH

14/3

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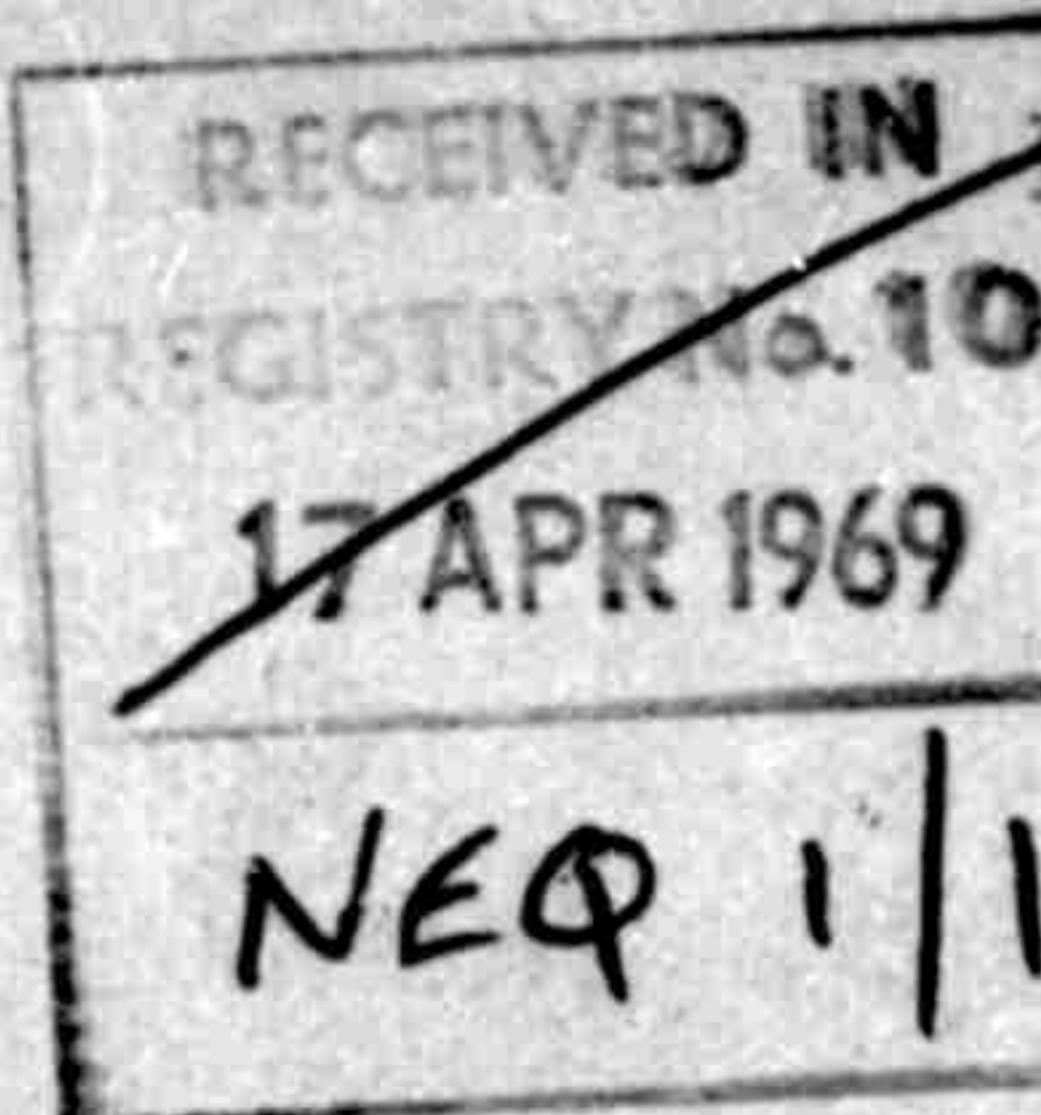
~~SECRET~~ CONFIDENTIAL

52

~~SECRET~~
Mr Acland
Mr Bell ~~AB~~ Bakr
Al Arabi DERT

~~SECRET~~ Ben Bakr PMK 17/4

~~SECRET~~ Dear Mr Hinchcliffe,



12 April 1969

A statement of the Nationalist Command of the Ba'ath Party issued on the 22nd anniversary of the founding of the Party is noteworthy for its disregard of purely local issues and concentration upon the role of the Ba'ath Party in the 'Arab Nation' as a whole. This may be a further indication that the Ba'ath Party is again challenging for the leadership of the Arab World. I enclose the full text of the statement; the following is a summary of the more important passages.

2. On the ideological level the aims of the Ba'ath are seen as Unity, Freedom and Socialism while on the practical level the Ba'ath claims to fight division imperialism and reaction in every Arab country. One of the secrets of the strength of the Party is said to lie in the "Pan Arab organisation overriding territorial and regional divisions". In the past the struggle of the Ba'ath Party is seen as unifying Arab thought, incorporating local uprisings into the Arab revolution as a whole, and "motivating the Arab masses from the Atlantic to the Gulf to struggle for unity and achieve socialism". The statement claims that all victories and revolutionary enthusiasm are closely tied to the emergence of the Ba'ath movement.

3. Inevitably this sort of thinking by the Ba'ath Party will colour Iraqi Foreign Policy under the present régime. It is interesting to see in this context the increasing Iraqi interest in the Gulf culminating this week in the visit of the Iraqi Defence and Foreign Ministers to the Gulf states. If the Iraqi Ba'athis have aspirations to Arab leadership the Gulf would be the logical place to start; Iraq has a natural interest there for geographical reasons and there is the added incentive of being able to encroach upon the position of the U.A.R. at a time when Nasser is preoccupied with problems nearer to home.

4. Of course they will take advantage of their tougher Palestine policy (tougher, that is, than that of Egypt) to score off Nasser - see Bakr's letter to Sheik Rashid, translation of which was enclosed with Bullard's letter of 1 April to Weir.

Yours ever

M. Jenner
(M. K. Jenner)

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

c.c. Chancery: Beirut
Amman
Cairo
Jedda

Political Residency, Bahrain
Political Agency, Bahrain
Dubai
Doha
Abu Dhabi

4/4/4

CONFIDENTIAL

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONALIST COMMAND
OF THE SOCIALIST ARAB BA' TH PARTY ON THE
22ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE
PARTY

One Arab Nation of an eternal message

Masses of our Arab people,

On 7th April 1969, our party celebrates the 22nd anniversary of its establishment and leaves behind the history of 29 years it spent between the preparatory stage which started in 1940 and lasted till 1947, and the foundation stage which started in 1947 and which it lived in struggle for the sake of unity, freedom and socialism for the Arab Nation.

This long history of struggle is rightly considered, from its positive and negative aspects, an honest summary of the struggle of the Arab Nation in the last quarter century.

On the ideological level, the revolutionary thought of the party since the forties was able to reveal the mistakes and deviations of the rightist reformatory attitudes, the racial nationalist disputes, the regional and territorial departures, the reactionary movements, the Stalinist international conception, and all the theories and thoughts which lack an emancipatory human nationalist conception, a progressive socialist social content, and belief in the role of the masses.

This new revolutionary thought was able to establish, through long ideological struggle, the revolutionary Arab thought, which is characterized by dialectical connection between the aims of unite, freedom, and socialism.

On the level of political and social struggle, the history of the stage witnessed struggle between the revolutionary movement which embodied the idea of the Ba'th on the one hand, and all the forms of divisionism, imperialism, backwardness, and class exploitation, and witnessed through all that splendid epics of struggle against the régimes and their suppressive authority which was exercised against the masses and the revolutionary organisations, and of struggle against feudalism, bourgeoisie, military dictatorship, and alliances in every quarter of the Arab homeland: in Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Sudan, Yemen, Libya, Tunis, and every Arab country.

Although this history, like all histories of the current revolutionary movements in the 3rd World, was exposed to such attempts of distortion, forgery, and internal sabotage and suffered the same defects and faults, and had the same negative experiences, and was the object of external conspiracies aiming at destroying the contemporary revolutionary Arab experience, it has recorded a firmly established truth, namely that the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party possesses a revolutionary power to face experiences and hardships, to renew itself and develop, and to rise above its entity, and above the contradictions prevailing around it and implanted on its way.

Therefore, it is necessary in the 22nd anniversary of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party to look into the pile of abortive experiences of the past for the resistance factors behind those experiences because in them lie the true forces for the revolutionary Arab future.

Masses of Our Great People,

The resistance of the Ba'th throughout the stages of its growth in spite of all the conspiracies directed against it is due to a number of primary truths summarised in the past the characteristics and truths for which the Ba'th movement was known. The Ba'th was born bearing the secret of its strength:-

1. A revolutionary scientific though discovered, through the theory of dialectical relation in unity, freedom, and socialism, the law governing the development of the Arab nation in the present stage, and expressed the ideology of the revolutionary labouring class in the Arab homeland.
2. Firm adherence to morality and strict belief in the unity of the means and the objective.
3. Pan-Arab organisation overlooking the territorial and regional divisionism and representing the unitary work formula and the concept of one-pan Arab command.
4. Belief in the people, the role of the masses, and the popular struggle line.
5. Original distinctive independence, far from imitation and subservience, possessing a progressive revolutionary stamp expressive of the internal historic needs of the Arab Nation in the current stage. The victories of the Ba'th and the victories and setbacks of the Arab revolution in the past historic period were closely dependent on these departures and truths and the extent of adherence to them, because they always formed the secret of the strength of resistance before trial, victory over difficulties, development against stagnation, maturity towards juvenility, and the objective, deep, comprehensive attitude as regards the absolute, superficial, partial attitudes.

When casting a retrospective look at the previous stages which form the past of his historic revolutionary movement and reviews the stages of struggle against all forms and shapes of divisionism, against imperialism, feudalism, bourgeoisie, reactionary regimes, and the international monopolous capitalistic system, a Ba'thist clearly sees the direct results of such struggle in the fifties on the ideological and practical levels in unifying the revolutionary Arab thought, connecting the scattered territorial uprisings to the current of the comprehensive Arab revolution, motivating the Arab masses from the Atlantic to the Gulf within the framework of the unity of Arab struggle and in realising the progressive socialist gains.

When recalling all that, a Ba'thist realises why all the victories and the revolutionary popular tide were closely related to the adherence to the essential departure of the emergence of the Ba'th movement, and realises at the same time why the setbacks of the struggle in the sixties were closely related to the giving up of such departures, their neglect, or lenient adherence to them.

Through such analysis, a Ba'thist can define the mistakes of the previous stage and discover the dimensions of the forthcoming stage, and recognise its requirements.

He can also assess, through the high cost paid by the party in the past battles of struggle, whether of victory or disaster, the cost which will be paid by every revolutionary movement preparing itself to play the decisive role in the contemporary Arab life. This is due to the fact that such movement will find itself face to face with all the plans of the imperialist-Zionist alliance, the ambitions of the international monopolies, and the bargaining of the international interests, because it will reveal, through its struggle with such forces, the extent of its importance and its historic role, and why all the forces hostile to the unity, freedom and socialism of the Arab Nation bring themselves together to attack it and to conspire against it.

CONFIDENTIAL

CYPHER/CAT A
PRIORITY BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NUMBER 371
CONFIDENTIAL.

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
18 APRIL 1969

RECEIVED IN
21 APR 1969
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ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 371 OF 18 APRIL RFI TO AMMAN BEIRUT CAIRO
BAHRAIN RESIDENCY KUWAIT TEHRAN AND SAVING TO WASHINGTON.

IRAQ INTERNAL. THERE WAS SOME FIRING AROUND PRESIDENTIAL PALACE
ON NIGHT OF 12 AND/OR 13 APRIL. MOST OF RUMOURS WHICH HAVE SINCE
BEEN CIRCULATING HAVE SPOKEN OF A CLASH ARISING OUT OF DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN ARMY AND CIVILIAN BAATHISTS, ALTHOUGH AN ATTEMPTED COUP BY
NATIONALISTS OR COMMUNISTS HAS ALSO BEEN MENTIONED.

2. ACCOUNT WHICH AT PRESENT SEEMS MOST LIKELY TO BE CORRECT IS THAT
GIVEN US BY SUDANESE MA, ACCORDING TO WHOM THERE WAS A MOVE BY
CIVILIAN BAATHISTS TO REPLACE PRESIDENT BAKR WHILE GEN. HARDAN
TAKRITI WAS VISITING GULF. MOVE WAS FOILED AND SADDAM TAKRITI,
ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL OF PARTY, AND SALAH TAKRITI WERE ARRESTED
AND A THIRD MAN SENT OUT OF IRAQ. GEN. AMMASH OPPOSED ARRESTS BUT
WAS OVERRULED. HARDAN IS SAID TO HAVE PREPARED A NEW CABINET IN
WHICH AMMASH WOULD BE REPLACED AS MINISTER OF INTERIOR BY PRESENT
CHIEF OF GEN. STAFF, WHO WOULD BE SUCCEDED BY BAGHDAD GARRISON
COMMANDER.

3. IF TRUE, THIS MEANS THAT BAKR AND HARDAN HAVE COOPERATED TO CLIP
WINGS OF SADDAM, WHO WAS RECKONED TO BE MOST POWERFUL AND DOCTRINAIR
PARTY OFFICIAL AND RESPONSIBLE FOR SOME OF MORE EXTREME BAATHIST
MEASURES.

FCO PASS TO AMMAN BEIRUT CAIRO BAHRAIN RESIDENCY KUWAIT TEHRAN AND
SAVING TO WASHINGTON.

MR. EVANS

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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EN CLAIR

BAGHDAD TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE

TEL NO 460

15 MAY 1969

JNCLASSIFIED

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10
19 MAY 1969

NEQ 111

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO 460 OF 15 MAY.
REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO TEHRAN, NEW DELHI, RAWALPINDI
AND CAIRO.

PRESS OF 15 MAY REPORTS THE PASSING OF A "DUTIES LAW" BY THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL. THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE CONTAINING THE FULL TEXT HAS NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED BUT ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THE LAW PROVIDES FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL TO ASSIGN ANYONE TO SPECIFIED DUTY IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN RETURN FOR FAIR REMUNERATION. THE LAW WILL ALSO APPLY TO ANY FOREIGNER WHO HAS BEEN RESIDENT IN IRAQ FOR MORE THAN SIX MONTHS. PENALTIES ARE LAID DOWN FOR FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH SUCH AN ASSIGNMENT. IN THE CASE OF A FOREIGN RESIDENT THESE ARE EITHER IMPRISONMENT FOR NOT LESS THAN ONE YEAR AND NOT MORE THAN THREE YEARS OR A FINE OF NOT LESS THAN 1D1,000 AND NOT MORE THAN 1D10,000. IN EITHER CASE RESIDENCE PERMITS WILL BE WITHDRAWN.

SEE MY IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELEGRAM.

MR. HAWLEY

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BAGHDAD PRESS EXTRACTS

British Embassy, Baghdad.

Wednesday - April 16, 1969.

EDITORIALS:

Al-Jumhuriyah:

The Revolutionary Government and the Insurance of Medical Services to all the Citizens.

The editorial deals with the assurance made by the Minister of Health in opening the Third Arab Medical Conference at Mosul that the revolutionary regime believed in the necessity of a just distribution of medical services.

Al-Thawra:

Our People Reject Bargains and Liquidatory Settlements.

The editorial maintains that the Arab people will not accept a bargain over the Palestine question or any solution not based on the elimination of the Zionist cancer.

Al-Hurriyah:

Creation of the Public Establishment for Export - A Successful Step for Nourishing National Economy.

The editorial maintains that the recently established Public Establishment for Exports will have a great effect on the economic life of Iraq as it will export the products of the industrial public sector to the various markets in the world in addition to activating agricultural exports.

Al-Nur:

The editorial states that "Al Nur" had previously elucidated that the Iraqi Communist Party was subservient to Imperialism, Zionism and the CENTO Pact and that it was working under the command of the leader of the Kurdish reactionary movement for implementing an Imperialist plan which aimed at putting an end to the present national regime, for restoring Iraq to a mercenary regime, and for preventing the Iraq Army from carrying out its main role in the battle of destiny against Israel.

/The Communist....

Al-Nur: (contd.)

The Communist Party is carrying out these activities on purpose. Since the Party's Command is cooperating with Mulla Mustafa and his group in Kurdistan unconditionally, they are bound to be aware of the relations between the Mulla and the Imperialists, Zionists and the aggressive CENTO Pact. Aziz al Haj has removed all suspicions in this respect.

NEWS ITEMS:

Al-Jumhuriyah:

The Public Automobile Company is adopting a new policy in its imports for the year 1969. The basis lines of this policy are to import motor vehicles, and the spare parts thereof, on the basis of "goods on trust". The company supplying the vehicles and spare parts will undertake to construct most modern garages and place them under the supervision of its experts.

The Company will also undertake to make the necessary spare parts available at all times. The Company will train Iraqi labourers technically in its factories or by opening local courses for them.

The Director-General of the Public Automobile Company has signed an agreement with the French Renault Company in accordance with these bases, and is about to sign similar agreements with other suppliers.

Saiyid Farid Habib, the Lebanese Ambassador-designate to Iraq, is expected to arrive at Baghdad on Friday, 18 April, on the Middle East Airlines.

The Revolutionary Command Council has decided to appoint Saiyid Jasim al Sa'idi as Assistant Mutasarrif of Amarah Liwa.

Saiyid Ahmad Tawfiq al Madani, the Algerian Ambassador at Baghdad, announced to this paper that the Air Cooperation Agreement proposed to be concluded between Iraq and Algeria will consolidate the relations between the two countries through direct contacts and will undoubtedly have a great effect on all economic and cultural matters.

The First State Security Court tried members of the Board of Coca-Cola Company who imported "concentrated" coca from England in agreement with the accused Tahir Yahya and his group. Having heard the evidences of Tahir Yahya, Abdul Karim Kannunah, Abdul Rahman al Habib, Sinan Abdul Jabbar al Rawi and Tariq Abdul Karim Wajdi, the case was postponed to next Sunday.

On the other hand, the Court considered the case of Tahir Yahya and his group and decided to postpone the issue of a decision to some other time.

BAGHDAD PRESS EXTRACTS

British Embassy, Baghdad.

Thursday - April 17, 1969.

Page sealed

PMMA

29/4

EDITORIALS:

Al-Jumhuriyah, Al Thawra and Al Hurriyah of to-day carry editorials on the 6th anniversary of the Pact concluded on the 17th of April, 1963, between Iraq, Syria and the United Arab Republic, which aimed at the establishment of a Federal State between them.

Al-Jumhuriyah maintains that the need is still very pressing for the establishment of coordination and unity between the progressive Arab revolutionary forces which are now challenging the suspected plots being woven in the dark for liquidating the Arab cause of Palestine and ensuring a permanent entity to the Israeli cancer in the Arab homeland.

Al-Thawra says that the birth of the Ramadhan Revolution in Iraq was a decisive victory to the Arab Revolution and a severe blow to the isolationist setback and its stooges.....The revolutionaries will pursue the struggle until the aim of the masses for unity, freedom and socialism has been achieved.

Al-Hurriyah says that if the unity provided for in the Pact of the 17th of April 1963 had been maintained it would have avoided the catastrophes suffered by the Arab nation, particularly that of June 1967. The editorial maintains that the Arab nation now realises the vital and pressing need for a new effort to be exerted by the Arab revolutionary forces for an Arab unity.

Al-Nur:

Under the heading "Attitudes which do not conform with the struggle against Imperialism and Zionism" is an editorial saying that this paper had previously reported that :

- (1) The Barazani movement, which is called by the Iraq Communist Party as the Kurdish Revolution, is nothing but a mercenary movement implementing the plans of Imperialism and Zionism.
- (2) The attitude of the Iraqi Communist Party towards the movement was inconsistent with the principles of Marx and Lenin.
- (3) The attitude of the Iraqi Communist Party towards the movement impelled it to fabricate lies for covering the connection between Mulla Mustafa and the Imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces.
- (4) A large number of members of the Iraqi Communist Party had joined the ranks of the Barzani for implementing the conspiracy against Iraq engineered by Imperialism and Zionism.

/The editorial.....

Al-Nur: (contd.)

The editorial adds that after the treacherous aggression on Kurdistan in 1961 during which its towns, villages and peaceful inhabitants were bombed for no reason, the Iraqi Communist Party decided, after ample study, to name the movement "the desperate isolationist movement of the nationalist Kurds". The Communist Party made several charges against the movement and announced its resentment of it, and decided to resist any attempt for overthrowing the regime by force. The Communist Party also issued instructions to hundreds of its members to join the 'irregulars' against the Kurdish movement and in defence of the dictatorship of Qasim, in order to make certain gains at the expense of the Kurdish people and the revolutionary movement in Iraq. The Iraqi Communist Party maintained this wrongful attitude throughout the regime of Qasim.

NEWS ITEMS:

Al-Thawra:

This paper publishes a commentary by the "International Life" magazine of Soviet Russia published in its 'last issue'. The commentary is on the Centurion tanks deal concluded between Israel and Britain. The Soviet magazine said that the press of the world had dealt with the negotiations carried out by the Israeli military mission with circles of the British Government for signing the Centurion tanks deal, and that the Israeli delegation was under the presidency of Zvi Tsur.

The material contained in this article adds nothing to what has been published in the local press about the deal and refers to the statement made by Mr. Michael Stewart at the House of Commons where he neither confirmed nor denied the conclusion of the deal and the comment made thereon by Mr. Christopher Mayhew, M.P.

Dr. Ahmad Abdul Sattar al Jawari, Minister of Education, returns to Baghdad tomorrow from Cairo where he attended the meetings of the Council of the Arab Federation of Teachers from 12 to 17 April.

The competent Iraqi authorities have apologised their inability to take part in the annual meeting of Agricultural technicians to be held in Bristol next July.

The Women's Branch of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society at Baghdad has telegraphed to Mr. U Thant, Secretary-General to the United Nations, appealing to him to support right and justice in connection with the inhuman treatment being meted out to the Palestinian prisoners by the Israeli forces of occupation in Jerusalem.

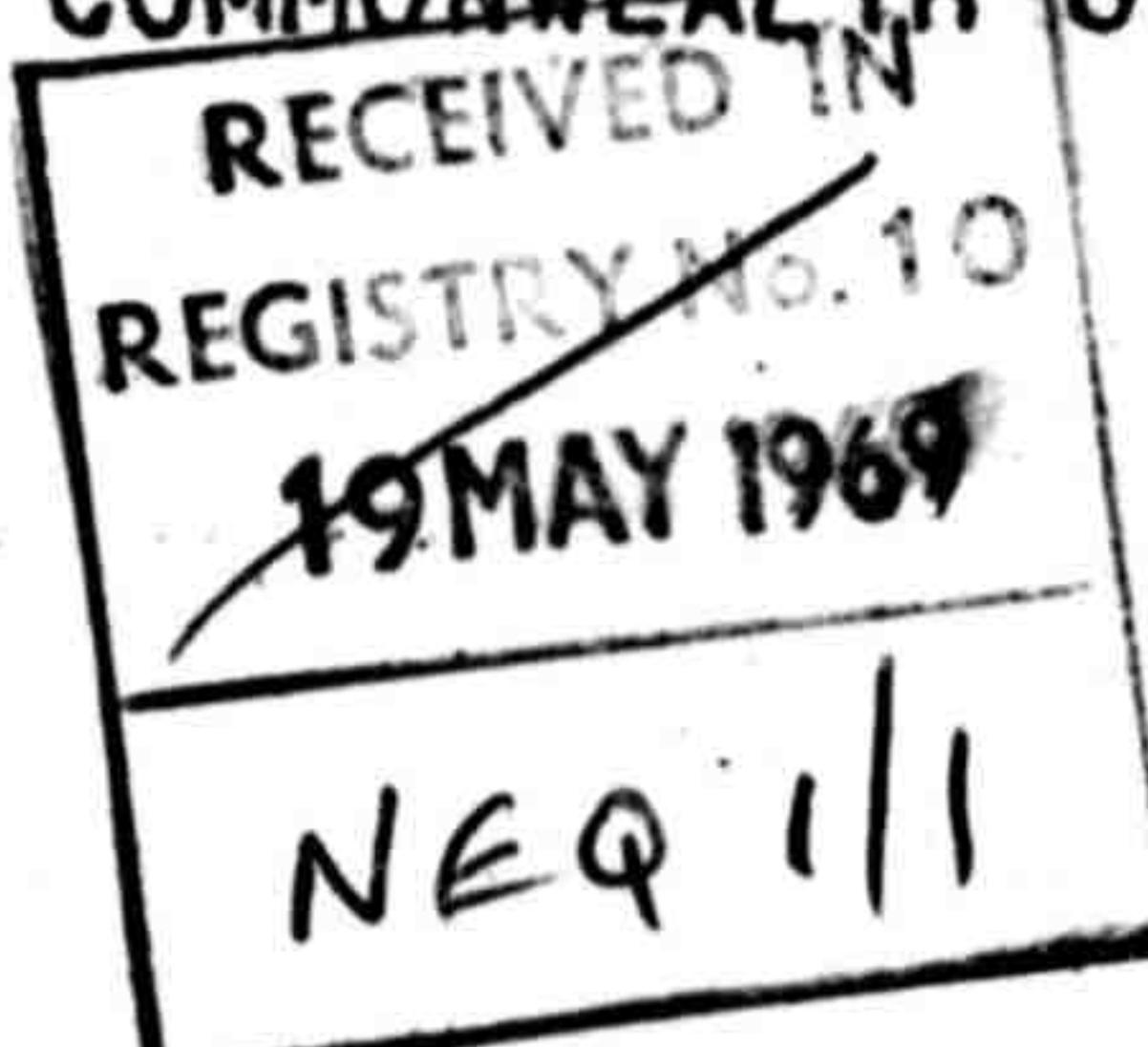
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ROUTINE BAGHDAD
TELEGRAM NUMBER 461

RESTRICTED

TO FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
15 MAY 1969



RESTRICTED

ADDRESSED TO FCO TELNO. 461 OF 15 MAY REPEATED FOR INFORMATION TO TEHRAN NEW DELHI RAWALPINDI AND CAIRO.

MIPT. DUTIES LAW.

I CALLED ON DAUD THE HEAD OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON 14 MAY TO DISCUSS THIS MEASURE. I SAID THAT IT HAD CAUSED SOME ANXIETY AMONGST THE BRITISH COMMUNITY WHO WERE UNCLEAR ABOUT ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THEM. I ASKED IF HE WOULD CLARIFY THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS. DAUD SAID HE HAD NOT HEARD OF THE MEASURE BUT PROMISED TO MAKE ENQUIRIES.

2. WE HAVE HEARD FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT THE MEASURE IS PRINCIPALLY AIMED AGAINST IRAQI OFFICIALS WHO HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO TAKE UP DUTIES ASSIGNED TO THEM OUTSIDE BAGHDAD. A NUMBER OF FOREIGNERS, MAINLY IRANIANS, INDIANS, PAKISTANIS AND EGYPTIANS HAVE LIKEWISE SHOWN RELUCTANCE TO GO WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN POSTED.

3. OUR GENERAL CONCLUSION IS THAT THE LAW IS NOT AIMED AT THE BRITISH OR OTHER EUROPEAN RESIDENTS, BUT THERE COULD POSSIBLY BE A DANGER THAT IT WOULD BE USED AGAINST THEM AT SOME FUTURE DATE.

FCO PLEASE PASS TO TEHRAN NEW DELHI RAWALPINDI AND CAIRO.

MR. HAWLEY

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CONFIDENTIAL

~~LAST PAPER~~

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British Embassy,

BAGHDAD.

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 10

16 MAY 1969

NEQ 11

10 May, 1969.

Dear Hinchcliffe,

Iraq Internal

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Please refer to our telegram No. 371 of 19 April about a possible attempt to replace President Bakr on 12/13 April. It is now clear that reports of the arrest of Saddam Tikriti were ill-founded; he is now taking part in the talks with the G.D.R. Foreign Minister as one of the representatives of the Ba'ath Party.

2. Ammash's position is still obscure. His unheralded arrival in Beirut, on his way (as it transpired later) to Poland, caused considerable speculation here. However the agreement which he negotiated in Poland for the exploitation of Iraqi sulphur deposits has received a very good press though none of the praise was given to Ammash personally. On his return from Poland on 30 April he was greeted at the airport by Hardan Tikriti. For some time after that he made no public appearance and it was even rumoured that he was under house arrest. However today's newspapers (with the exception of Al Thawra) give prominence to pictures of him in conversation with the G.D.R. Foreign Minister. We cannot draw any satisfactory conclusions at this stage from these various stories and theories.

Yours ever
M. K. Jenner

(M. K. Jenner)

P. R. M. Hinchcliffe, Esq.,
Near Eastern Department,
F.C.O.

c.c.

Chanceries

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BEIRUT

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BAHRAIN RESIDENCY

KUWAIT

TEHRAN

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Baghdad Press Extracts; Excerpts From Report 'The Arab World And Israel'; Iraq: Annual Reviews For 1968; Arrest Of Abdul Rahman Bazzaz. Reports On The Internal Political Situation In Iraq. 10 May 1969. MS Middle East Online: Iraq, 1914-1974: Selected files from series AIR, CAB, CO, FCO, FO, PREM, T, WO, The National Archives, Kew, UK FCO 17/869. Newspaper Cutting And Photographs. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107473847/GDSC?u=webdemo&sid=bookmark-GDSC&xid=4dc96287&pg=1. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.